

CA dyaloge of syr Thomas
More knyghte: one of the

counsayll of oure souerayne lorde the kyng

& chauncellour of hys duchy of Lan-

caster. wherin be treatyd dyuers

maters/as of the veneration

& worshyp of ymagys &

relyques/prayng to

sayntys/& goyng

o pylgrymage.

Wyth many othere

thyngys touchyng the

pestylent sect of Luther and

Tyndale / by the tene bygone in

Sarony / and by the tother

laboryd to be brought in

to Englund. .

The p̄face

¶ Hyt ys a olde sayd saw/that one bys-
 nes bygett yth and bryngeth forth a
 nother. whych p̄uouerbe as hit happeth
 I fynde very trew by my selfe/whych
 haue bene sayne by occasiō first of one
 busynesse after to take the seconde/and
 byp̄d the seconde now to take the thyrde.
 For where as a ryght woꝛthy p̄full frēd
 of myne sent vnto me a secret sure
 frende of hys wyth certayne credence
 to be declared vnto me/towchynge ma-
 ny such maters as beyng in dede very
 certayne and owte of doute/be nethe-
 lesse of late by lewd peple put in questy-
 on /the specyalties whereof doo so fer
 forth in the furst chapyter of thys boke
 appere/that we shall here nede no reher-
 sal therof/I thought yt fyrst Anough
 to tell the messēger my mynd by mouth/
 accōpyng the after our cōmunycacyon
 ended/I shuld neuer nede farther busi-
 nes therein . But after that the mes-
 senger was departed/I felte my stom-
 ache well eased/in the I reckoned all my
 laboure done / bythynkyng my selfe a
 lytle while thereon/my busynesse that I
 toke for synnyshed I found very farre
 fro that poynt and lytle more than by-
 gone. For whan I consydered what the
 matters were /and how many greete
 thingys had bene treated bytwene the
 messenger and me/and in what maner
 fashyone/albe it I mystrustyd not his
 good wyll/and very well trustede hys
 wytt/his lernyng/well seruyng hym to
 the perseuyng and repoꝛtyng of our
 cōmunycacyon/yet fyndyng oure tre-
 asure so dyuerse and so long/and sume-
 tyme such wyse intrycate that my self
 could not wythout labour call it oꝛder-
 ly to mind/me thought I had not well
 done wythout wrytyng to trust hys
 onely memory/namely with sum part
 of the mater be such of theym selfe as

rather nede to be attentely redde & ad-
 vylled / than houerly hard and passyd o-
 uer. And ouer this I cōsīdred the thogh
 I nothyng suspecte the messenger/as
 in good faythe I do not/and to saye the
 treuthe am of my selfe so lytle mystrul-
 tyng/that he were like very playnly to
 shew hym selfe nought whom I shulde
 take for badde/ yet with no man cā loke
 in to a nothers breste/as yt ys therfore
 well done to deeme the beste/so were yt
 not much amysse in such wyse to puyde
 for the woꝛste / as (yf a man hadde to
 be woꝛse than we take him for) our good
 opynyō turne vs to none harme. For
 thys cause me thought that for the more
 suertye my parte were to sende our cō-
 munycacyō to my sayd frende in wry-
 tyng. wherby yf yt had happed the hys
 messenger had for any synnyshet fauours
 boꝛne toward the wꝛonge side purpose
 ly mangled the mater/his mayster shuld
 not oꝛly know the treuthe/but also haue
 occasiō the better beware of hys mes-
 senger/which eyles thyght hape to hurte
 while he were my stake for good. Now
 whan I had byp̄on thys delyberacyō
 taken wyth my selfe/wrytte all the mater
 and sente hit to my frende/than had I
 me thought all done and my mynd full
 sett at rest. But that rest rested not
 long. For sone after was yt shewed me
 that of my wrytyng were wrytten dy-
 uerse copies/ And one also caried ouer
 the se. where whan I remembred what a
 shrewd sorte of our apostatas are asse-
 blede/parte rōne owte of religyō/and
 all rōne owte of the ryghte faythe/me
 thought grete payrell myght arysc yf sū
 of that cūpany whych are confedered
 & cōspyrēd to gether in the sowynge &
 settynge forth of Luthers pestylent he-
 resyes in thys realme/shuld maliciou-
 ly chaunge my woꝛds to the woꝛse/and
 so put

so put in pzent my booke framed after
 theyre fantesye. whych whan I wolde
 after ward reproue & shew y^e differēce/
 I myght peraduenture seme for the co
 loure of my cause to haue amendede
 myne own vppon the lyght of theyrs.
 For eschewyng whereof I amow dre
 uen as I say to thys thyrd busynes of
 publyshyng and puttyng my boke in
 pzent my self. whereby theyr etrepysle
 yf they shuld eny such intend/ shall I
 trust be pvented and frustrate. And
 thys haue I done not all of myne own
 hed/ but after the counsaile of other mo
 thā one. whose aduyce and counsaile
 for theyr wysdome & lernyng I asked
 in that byhalf/ and whych haue at my
 requeste vouchesaufed to rede ouer y^e
 boke ere I dyd put yt forth. For albe it
 that I dare be sū what bold to cōmen
 in famlyer maner w^{ch} such as for theyr
 fantesye lyke to aske me of such maters
 eny questyon accordyng to y^e counceyle
 of saynt Poule/byddyng vs be redy
 to gyue a rkenyng and to shew a rea
 sonable cause to euery man of y^e faythe
 and hope that we haue/ yet to make &
 put forth eny boke wherin were trectyd
 eny such thyngys as to wch our fayth/
 wolde I not presume but yf better ler
 ned than my selfe shulde thynke yt ey
 ther pzoxytable o^r at the lest wylse harm
 lese. To whose examination and iudg
 ment I dyd the moze studyously sub
 mytte thys worke for two thyng/ inspe
 cyall amonge dyuerse other. The one
 for the lyberall allegacyons of the mes
 senger for the wrong parte so layd out
 at large/ that of my selfe I stode halfe
 in a dowt whyther yt were cōuenient
 to reherse the wordys of eny mā so hō
 ly and in maner sumptuous vnreuerent
 ly spoken agaynst goddis holy halows
 and theyre reuerente memozyes. The
 tother was certayne talys & mery wor

fo. 11.
 d^r whych he mynglid wyth his mater/
 & sū such on myne owne parte amonge
 as occasyon fell in cōmynycacyon. In
 whych albe yt I saw none harne / yet
 sum what dowted I lest they shuld vn
 to sabb men seme ouer lyght & wāton
 for the wayght and grauyte of such an
 erenest matter. wherfore in these two
 poyntys though I hade all redy scene
 some cōclaples of ryght holy mē/ whych
 in theyre bokys answeryng to tynoblec
 tions of heretiques in theyr tyme haue
 nott letted to reherse the very forinall
 wordys of theym whose wrytyngs they
 made answere to/ beyng sometyme of
 such inaner & sorte as a good mā wold
 not well bere/ and haue not also letted
 to wryte a mery word in a ryght earnest
 worke/ of whych two thyngys I could
 owte of godly mennys bokis and holy
 sayntys workys gether a good sorte/
 yet in mine owne work I determyned
 that I wold nothyng allow nor defend
 that the iudgement of other vertuouse
 and cunnynge men wolde in eny wyse
 mysse lyke. And therfore after y^e such
 had red hyt and seuerally layde theyre
 aduyce/ I found as hyt often happith/
 that sum thyng whyche one wylse and
 well lernyd manne wolde haue owte/
 twayne of lyke wysdome and lernyng
 specyally wolde haue in / neyther syde
 lackyng good and probable reasōs for
 theyre parte. wherfore syth hyt bycame
 not me to be iudge ouer the iudgment
 of theym whome I toke and chole for
 my iudges/ beyng such of them self as
 hard were yt for eny man to say which
 of theym byfoze the other he coulde in
 erudydon wytt o^r prudence eny thing
 preferr/ I could no ferther goo but lene
 to the moze parte. whych I so ferforth
 haue folowed/ that lyke wylse as I dy
 uerse thyngys put owte o^r chaūged by
 theyr good aduyce & counsell / so let I

nothyng shād in this boke/ but such as
twayne aduysyd me specyally to lette
stand/ agaynst eny one that eny dowt
inouyd me to the contrary. And thus
mych haue I thought necessary for my
declaracyon/ and excuse to aduertysse
you all that shall happen to rede thys
rude synple work/ prayeng you of pa-
cyence and pardon/ whom god of hys
especyall grace graunte as mych pro-
fyte in þ redyng/ as my pote hart hath
mente you and etendede in þ making.

The furst chapyter

The letter of credence sent from
hys frende by a trusty secret messen-
ger. wyth the letter of þ authoze and
weryng þ same. The declaracyō of
of þ credence by the mouth of þ mes-
senger whereuppon the mater of all
the hole worke dependeth.

The letter of credence

After chauncelour as hartely
as I possible cā I recomend
me to you. Not wythoute a
thousand thankys for your good cum-
pany whan we were last to gether. In
whyche for as myche as yt liked you to
spend sum of your tyme wyth me in fa-
mylyer cōmynycacion/ wherof sum pte
I truste so to remēber as my selfe shall
be the better and some other neuer the
worse/ which shall haue cause and haue
all redy to gyue you greate thank ther-
foze/ I am bolde at thys tyme to send
you my specyall secrete frende thys be-
rer to breke wyth you sū what ferther/
partely of þ same matters partely of sū
other such as are happed there synnys/
wherof greate spech and rumour run-
neth here/ wherby ye shall haue occasyō
more at lēgth if your leysour wyll serue
to touche certayn dowtes moued syn-
nes of the maters treated betwene vs
byfoze. wher i were it not for your other
busyness I wold be bold on your good

nes to desyre you to take good tyme w
hym. And yet neuere the lesse do re-
quire you hartely as your leysour will
serue you to satysfy him at the the full.
Fo: he shall how longe so euer he tarye
therfoze/ gyue attendaunce vnto you
dayes & howers as ye may spare hym
tyme. whych can not in these thinge be
but well bestowed/ consyderynge that
the matters be such and so towchyng
to god/as they were well worthy to let
worldly busyness asyde specyally i such
nede. Fo: I assure you sō sola here talk
very straungely of the thyngys that he
shall moue you/ Not onely for suche
wordis as they tell þ come frō thense/
but also most especially thorough thoe
casyon of some letters lewdely wrytte
hyther owte of londō by a prest or two
whom they take here for honeste. But
what so euer eny man tell or wryte/ I
shall for þ confydence & truste þ I haue
in you surely take and tell forth for the
very truth what so euer ye shall asserme
vnto my frende/ whō I sende vnto you
not so myche bycause I may not come
my selfe (how beyt therfoze to) as for
bycause I longe to haue hym talke w
you. To whom what so euer ye say res-
ken yt sayde to my selfe/ Not only for
hys trouth and secretnes/ but also for
hys memozy. wyth whom to cōmune I
trust shall not mislyke you. Fo: eyther
myne affectyō blyndeth me/ or ye shall
fynd hym wyle/ and as other saye that
can better iuge yt thē I/ more thē meā-
ly lernyd/ wythe one thyngge addede
wherewith ye be wonte well to be con-
tent/ a very mery wyt. He is of nature
nothyng tonge tayed. And I haue in
these maters beden hym be bolde wyth
out any straynyng of curtesye/ wher-
of the cerymonyes in dysputacyō inat-
ryth mych of þ mater/ whyle one study-
eth more how he may behaue him than
what

what he shall saye. I haue I say there
to: bode hym moze to mynd hys ma-
ter the hys curtesy & frely to lay for the
not oly what he thiketh/ but also what
hym lyst/ geuyng no fore in dysputing
vnto your authoryte but if he be boyn
bak wyth reaso. Thus may ye se I am
bold o your goodnes to put you to la-
bour and busynes/ and send one to face
you in your owne howse. But so mych
am I bolder/ for that in such chalēg
I know you for a redy and sure defen-
der. And of such labour your wysdom
wel seeth that god is I rewarder/ who
long preferue you & all yours.

The lettre of the author sent wyth the boke.

Ryght woorthypfull syr after moste
harty recomendacyon/ albe yt I of late
I sent you my poze mynde by I mouth
of your trusty frend/ to whō ye desyred
me by your letters to gyue no lesse cre-
dence than to your selfe/ concernyng
all such thyngys as he brake of & comu-
ned w me in your bihalfe/ & I for I cōfy-
dence I ye haue i hym/ I wyt & leryng
I I founde in hym/ & honestye I I lo-
moch I moze thynk hym to be of/ in I
perceyue you beyng of such wysedom &
vertu/ to haue hym in so specyall trust/
I nether do no: cā beleue I cōtrary but
I he hath of all our cōmunycacyō made
you faythfully/ playne / & full repoze/
yet sythe I suppose in my selfe I yf we
had inought cōuenyētly cum to gether
ye wold rather haue chosē to haue hard
my mynde of myn owne mouth thā by
I mean of a nother/ I haue sintis i these
fewe days in whych I haue bē at home
put I mater in wrytyng/ to thenbe ye
may not only here hit by the mouth of
your frende/ but also whych better ys
than sodenlye ones to here hit of mine
owne mouthe/ rede yt yf ye lyste moze
often at your beste leysure aduysydly

To. iii.

from myne owne penne. whych thyng
I verily thought my selfe so mych the
moze bounde to do / for that yt lyked
you of your specyall fauour & affectyō
to warde me so greatly to regarde and
estime my mynd & answer i those ma-
ters/ I no rumour there iūig o: talys
in your countre tolde o: leters thither
wrytten no: reasons o: argumēt there
made to the cōtrary/ shuld lett o: wyth-
stande but that ye wolde as ye wote
take that thyng for vndowted trowth I
shulde by your frende acertayn you.
And surely syr i this poit ye may make
your selfe sure I I shall neuer wylling-
ly deceue your trust. And lest I might
happe to do yt of ouer syght vnware/
albe yt I nothyng sayde vnto your
frende by mouth but that I was ryght
well enfoymyd of the trowth/ yet for as
much as I perceyued by hym I sū folke
dowted lesse many thyngys were layd
to the charge/ not onely of that man ye
wrote of/ but also of Luther hym selfe/
otherwyle than could be proued / I dyd
so mych therein that I was suffred to se
I shewe hym as well I bokys of I tone
as the very actys of I court cōcernyng
I tother/ I we myght both by so myche
the moze surely warraūt you I trowth.
wherin yf ye fynde eny man I yet dow-
teth whether he tolde you and I wryte
you the trowth o: not/ I shall yf he vn-
derstand the latyne tong fynde I mean
at your pleasure that he shall so see the
bokys hym selfe/ I were he neuer so full
of mystrustynge he shall not fayle to be
fully cōtent & satisfyed. And thys war-
rātyse wyl I make you as farforth as
concerneth eny acte done here. But as
for thyngys reasoned and dysputed by
twene vs/ I cōclusyons selfe be so sure
truthes/ I they be not dysputable. But
whither the reasons by me made in the
bē effectuell o: insufficyēt/ albe it your
frend

I. iii.

frend eyther for þ of trouthe he thought
so/or for that of curtesye he sayd so / ac-
cepted them for good / yet wout preiu-
dyce of þ principall maters ye may your
self be iuge. And thus I pray you take
in good worthe þ lytle labour & great
good wyll of hym whom in eny thyng
þ may do you pleasure / ye maye to the
uttermost of hys lytell power well and
boldely commaund. And thus our lord
send you w my good lady your bedfe-
low & all yours as hartely well to fare
as ye wolde all wysh.

Our frende fyrst after your
p letter redde / whan I demaund
ded hym hys credence / shew
ed me that ye had sent hym to me / not
for eny dowte that your self had in ma-
ny of those thingis that he shuld moue
vnto me / but for the dowte that ye per-
ceyued in many other / and i sum folke
playne parcialp to þ contrary / whom
ye wolde be glad to ans were wyth the
trouthe / albe yt some thyngys he sayd
were also there so talked / that ye wyll
not well your self which part ye myght
bielue. For it was there not only spokē
but also thether wryten by dyuers ho-
nest prestys owte of londō / þ the mā ye
wryte of was of many thyngys bozne
wryng in hand / and therin so sore han-
delyd / that he was forced to forswere &
abiure certayn heresyys / and opely put
to penaunce therfore / where he neuere
held eny such. And all thys don for ma-
lyce and enuye / partely of some freres
agaynst whole abusyons he preched /
partly for þ he preched boldly agaynst
the pompe and pryde and other inordy-
nate lyuyng that mo men speke of thā
preche of bled in the clargye. And they
take for a gret tokyn that he shuld not
meane euyl / the prose and experyence
whych men haue had of him þ he lyued
well and was a good honest vertuouse

man farre from ambycyon and desyre
of worldly worship / chaste / humble & cha-
rytable / free & lyberall in alimose dede /
and a very goodly prechour / in whole
deuowte sermons þ peple were greatly
edyfyed. And therfore þ peple say þ all
thys gere ys done but onely to stoppe
mēys mouthys / & to put euery mā to
sylene þ wold eny thyng speke of the
faultys of the clargye. And they thynk þ
for none other cause was also burned
at Poulys crosse the new testamēt late
traunslated in eglyshe by Master wyl-
lyam huchen otherwyle called Master
Cidall / who was as mē say well know-
en ere he went ouer the see for a mā of
ryght good lyuyng / studpouse & well
lerned in scrypture / and in dyuerse pla-
ces in Englonde was very well lykēd
& dyd great good wyth prechyng. And
men mutter amonge thē selfe that the
boke was not onely sawtlesse / but also
very well traunslatyed / & was deuyse-
de to be burned bycause mē shuld not be
able to proue þ such sawtys as were at
Poules crosse declared to haue bē fou-
den in it were neuer fosidē ther i dede /
but vntuly surmised. And yet such as
they were sum men say were no faultis
at all / if they had be so trāslated i dede /
but blame layed & sawte fosid w thig
nothyng sawt worthy / onely to enface
þ holy worke / to thende þ they myght
seme to haue some iuste cause to burne
yt. And þ for none other cause but for
to kepe owt of þ peples hādis all know-
lege of Crist gospel & of goddis law /
excepte so mych onely as þ clargye thē
self lyste now & thā to tell vs. And that
lytle as it is & seldom shewēd / yet as it
ys fered not well & truly tolde / but wa-
tered w false gloses / & altered from the
trouthe of þ very wordis & sentence of
scriptur oly for þ mayntenaūis of theyr
authoryte. And þ fere lest thys thyng
shuld

shulde euidentely appere to the people
yf they were suffered to rede y^e scripture
the self in theyr own tong/ was as yt is
thoght y^e very cause not oly for whych y^e
new testamēt translated by Tydale was
burned/ but also y^e y^e clargye of thys re-
aline hath bifoze thys tyme by a cōstitu-
cion prouyncyall prohybited eny boke
of scripture to be translated in to the
englysh tonge/ ferynge men wyth fyr
as heretyques who so shulde presume
to kepe the/ As though yt were heretic
for a chryste mā to rede chryste gospel.
And surely syr quod he sum folke y^e
thynk thys dealing of the clargye to be
thus/ and good men to be myshandlyd
for declarng the trouthe/ And the scrip-
ture selfe to be pulled owte of y^e peples
handys lest they shulde perceyue the
trouthe/ be ledde in theyre myndys to
dowte whither Luther hi self of whose
opinions o^r at the leste of whose wo^r-
kys all these bysnesses bygan/ wote in
dede so euill as he ys bozne in hande.
And many men therbe that thynke he
neuer mente such thingis. But that by
cause he wote agaynst the abuses of
pardons/ and spake su^e what lyberally
agaynst the courte of Rome/ and ge-
nerally agaynst the bycs of the clar-
gy/ therfore he was brought i hated/
and fyrst cyted to Rome. And whan y^e
for fere of bodely harne wyth wrong/
whereof yt wolde haue bene to late to
loke for remedy after/ if he had ones be-
burnede by byforce/ he durste not come
thether/ than was he accursed/ and hys
bokes dampned/ & vnder great paynis
forbodden to be redd. And that thyng
done/ bycause it shulde not be known
what wronge he had/ and y^e he neyther
meaneth no^r sayeth such odyouse and
abomynable heresyas as the peple be
bozne in hand to enduce them to hate-
red of hi/ as yt wolde pauerature appere

yf hys bokis were suffered to be redde.
And they sey that yt were no mastery
to make yt scine that a man shulde be a
heretyque/ yf he may be bozne in hand
that he sayeth the thyng whych he ne-
uer sayd/ o^r pauerature one lyne taken
out amonge meny and myscōstrewd/
not suffering the remnante to be scine/
wherby yt myghte moze clerely appere
what he meanyth. By whych maner of
deylng a man they say might lay here
fye to saynte poule/ and fynde a faute i
saynt Johns gospel. And yet they say
the wo^rst of all is this/ that the clargye
cease not hereby no^r holde theym selfe
content wth the cōdemnyng of Luther
& forbyddng of hys bokes/ but fether
abuse y^e hated of hys name agaynst
euery man that ys in prechyng of the
wo^rd of god eny thig such as he shulde
be/ that ys to wytt playne and bolde
wythout glose or flaterng. where yf
they fynde a man faulty/ lett theym lay
hys sawte to hys charge. what nedythe
to call him a Lutherane? Though Lu-
ther were a deuyll yet myght a man p-
case say as he sayeth in sum thyng and
say trew Anough. For neuer was ther
heretyque that sayd all false. No^r the
deuyll hym selfe lyed not whē he called
Chryste goddys sonne. And therfore
men thynke that this name of a Luth-
rane serueth the clargye for a cōmen
cloke of a false crime/ y^e where they lack
specyall mater to charge one wyth by
iugemente/ they laboure to byng hym
fyrste in the infamy of that name that
cōpysyth as they make it scine/ a cōfu-
ted hepe of heresyas na mā cā tell what.
And yet in such deling they wounde
theyre owne mater a nother way. For
whyle they defame for Lutherans/
me that be of known vertu & cūig/
what do they therby but de of y^e wayn-
eyther cause the peple y^e haue for good
lyuyng

lypynge and lernynge those me in gret
reputacyon to thynke þ the clargye for
malice and enuy doth vntuly defame
them/ oꝛ els that Luthers doctryne is
good/ whyle so cūnyng men and good
men lene therto. ¶ And therfore yt
were wylde dome not to call them Lu-
therans/ but rather when they teche &
holde eny such opynions as the people
know foꝛ Luthers/ let yt eyther be dys-
symuled/ oꝛ they secretly by fayr ways
endured to the contrary/ if the pornt
that they teche of hys be nought. Leste
by callinge good and cunning me Lu-
therans/ they may peradventure bryng
them selfe in suspicyone of malice and
enuy/ And Luther amonge the people
into good opynyō/ Thynkyng as they
bygynne to doo all redy / that eythere
Luther sayd not so euyl as ys surmy-
sed vppon hym/ oꝛ els that those thyn-
gē þ he sayth as odious as they seme/
be good inough in dede. ¶ He sayd
also þ yt seemed vnto many men a soze
thyng and farr vntreasonable/ that poze
symple and vnlearned men all though
they fell in to errours and were ledde
oute of the ryght way by þ they lened
to thauthoryte of such me as they by-
leued to be vertuouse & cūnyng/ shuld
in stede of teching be betē cruelly wyth
abjuracions and opyn shame/ wyth p-
ell of burnyng also / yf a fewe false wyt-
nesses shall after such abiuracyō depose
þ they haue harde hym fall in relapse.
¶ Finally he sayde þ many good and
well lernyd men thought playnly that
þ clargye seinyth farre owt of all good
oꝛder of cheryte/ and that they do con-
trary to the mylonesse and mercyfull
mynde of theyre master/ and agaynste
thē sample of all the olde holy fathers/
in þ they cause foꝛ eny errour oꝛ wꝛōg
opynion in the saythe/ eny man one oꝛ
other to be put to deth.

¶ Foꝛ they say that þ olde holy fathers
vled only to dyspute wyth heretiques/
techyng them and conuertyng them
by scripture/ and not by sagottē. And
that by that way the sayth wente well
foꝛwardē/ and one heretique so turnyd
dyd toꝛne many othere/ where as now
me abhoꝛe thys crueltie in the church.
And they that seme turned / think styll
the thyng / that they dare not say. And
of thallhes of one heretique spryng vp
many. And that now we make the sal-
lyon of crystendome to seme all turned
quyte vpp so down. Foꝛ wher as Crist
made infydels the persecutours and
hys crystē people the sufferers / we make
the chrysten men the persecutours and
the infydels the sufferers. wherby me
thynke that secretly Christys oꝛder yet
standeth styll though yt be not so takin
and so perceyued. Foꝛ the people take yt
that styll those that psequute be þ myc-
crealitys/ and those poze people þ suffer
yt/ be vnder the false name of herety-
ques the trew byleuyng men and very
chrysten martyrs.

¶ Crist also they sey wold neuer haue
eny man cōpelled byfoꝛce and byolēce
to byleue vppon hys sayth/ noꝛ wolde
that men shulde fyght foꝛ hym oꝛ hys
matters. In so farfoꝛthe þ he wolde not
suffer saynt peter to fyght foꝛ hys own
selfe/ but repteuyd hym foꝛ strykyng
Malchus. Noꝛ wold not defend hi self /
but helyng the ere agayn of Malchus
his persecutour whych Peter had smit-
ten of/ and geuyng all his holy body to
the payent sufferance of all the paynes
full turmentys that hys cruell enmyes
wolde put to it / shewed vs as well by
hys effectuell ensauynple of hys dethe/
as by hys godly counceyle in hys lyfe/
and after that confyrmed by the con-
tynuall passyō and matterdums of hys
holy martyrs/ that hys wyll & pleasure
ys that

Is that we shulde not so mythe as de-
fende our selfe agaynst heretyquys &
infidelys/were they paganyis turkys
or sarasynyis. And much lesse thā shuld
we fyght agaynst theym and kyll thē/
but that we shulde perseuer in setting
forth hys sayth agaynst myscreauntis
and infidellys/by suche wayes as hym
selfe began it/keepe it/and encrease it
as it was gottē/ And that was by pa-
cyence and sufferaunce by whiche the
sayth was dyuulgate and sprede all-
most thorow the world in litle while.
Not by warre & fyghting/whych way
hath as thay say well nere all redy lost
all that the tother way wanne.

¶ When your frend had thus declared
his credēs/he desired me both o your
byhalfe and on hys owne in such thin-
gys as were parcas not well sayde to
take thē as they were i dede the mind
of other/whome ye wold fayne ans-
were and satisfye wyth resone/whych
ye trustyd to be the better able to do
by myne āswer/and neyther the mind
nor opynyō of you nor hym/whych
dyd and wold in all thyng stand and
abyde by the sayth & byleue of Cryst
catholyk chyrche. But as for suche p-
tyes of thys mater as concernyd not
eny parte of our beleue but the dealig
of thys worlde/as the iustyce or vn-
iustyce of sum spyrtyuall personys in
the pursuyng and condemnynng mē
for heretyquys or theyr werkys for he
resyes/he thought he sayd as of hym
selfe that mē myght woute eny parell
of heresy for theyr owne parte notw-
standyng eny mannes iudgemēt ge-
uin yet well and resonably dowt ther
in/For though he thought it heresy to
thynke thopynyōs of eny man to be
good and catholyque whych bē herisy-
es in dede/yet might a mā be thought

fo. b.

wythout eny parell of heresy dowte
whether he were ā heretyke or no that
were by mannys iudgment cōdeim-
ned for one/lyth it myght well happē
that he neuer held thole opinions that
were put vppon hym/but that he was
eyther by fals depolycyōs of wroꝝg
full wytnes/or by the error or malycie
of vniust iudges condemnnyd. And
that sometyme percase the ignorāce
of som iudges wold cōdeimne for here-
sy such artycles as wyser and better
lernyd wold in poynt of iudgment a-
low for good and catholyque/ and of
the tother iudgment deterne & iudge
the contrary.

¶ How be yt he sayd that ye had i me
and my lernyng so specyall trust & cō-
fydens/that in any of all these thigys
what so euer ye had herd or shuld here-
ellis where/ye were fully determinnyd
to gyue full credēce to me & take for
trouth such answer as he shuld brig
you from me/wherci ye ryght hartely
desired me to take some paine that ye
myght in these maters by hys mouth
know my mynde at large/

¶ After thys or I made eny āswer to
hys wordys/I demaunded hym what
maner acquayntaunce was bytweene
hym and you. And theruppon percey-
uyng hym to haue your sōnes at scole
enqueryng farther of hym to what fa-
culte he had most geuyn his study/vn-
derstode hym to haue geuyn dylygēce
to the latyn tonge/As for other facul-
ties he rought not of. For he tolde me
merily that Logyk he rekenyd but ba-
belyng/ Musyke to serue for syngers/
Arithmetryk mete for merchaūt/Ge-
ometry for masons/Astronomy good
for no man/And as for Phylolophy &
uolst banyte of all/And that yt a Lo-
gyk had lost all good deuynte wyth &

B. sub.

subteltres of theyre questyons / and
 habelyng of theyre dyspreyons / Byl-
 dyng all vppon reason / whych rather
 geuith blyndnes thā any light. For mā
 he sayd hath no lyght but of holy scrip-
 ture. And therefore he sayde that beside
 the latyne tonge he had ben / whych I
 mych cōmende / studious in holy scrip-
 ture / whych was he sayd lernyng I
 nough for a Crystyn man / wyth which
 thapostles held the self cōtent. And
 therin he saide he labored not onely to
 can many textys therof by hart / but al-
 so to enserche the sentence and vnder-
 standyng therof as ferre as he myght
 perceyue by hym selfe. For as for inter-
 pretours he tolde me that neyther hys
 tyme wolde well serue hym to rede / &
 also he founde so great swetnes in the
 texte selfe / that he coulde not fynde in
 his harte to lese any tyme in the glosis.
 And as to whyng any defyculte he
 said that he founde by experience that
 the beste and surest interpretaciō was
 to ley and conferre one texte wyth an
 other / whych sayle not amonge theym
 well & sufficiently to declare theim self.
 And thys waye he sayde that he vsyd
 whych he founde sufficient and surest.
 For so shulde it most surely tary / when
 yt were founden owt and lernyd by
 a mānes owne laboure. And that he
 said was euery mā able I nough to do
 wyth helpe of god whych neuer faylith
 theym that faythfully truste in hys p-
 myse. And he hath promysid that if we
 seke we shall fynde / And if we knocke
 we shall haue it openyd to vs. And
 what shalbe openyd but y booke which
 as seynt Iohn saith ithapocalips is so
 shytt wyth. vii. clapsles that it can not
 be openyd but by the lambe that whan
 he shetteth then cā no mā open it / and
 whan he openyth it than can no man

shytt it. **C** Appd these wordys & other
 lyke whan I consyderyde that youre
 frend was studious of scripture / and
 all though I now haue a very goode o-
 pynyō of hym / nor at that tyme hade
 not all the contrary / yet to be playne w
 you and him both / by reason that he set
 the mater so well and lustely forward /
 he put me somwhat in dowte whether
 he were as yong scolers be sūtine pnt
 to new fantesyes / fallen in to luthers
 secte. And that ye peraduenture sū what
 feryng the saine / dyd of good mynde
 the rather sende hym to me wyth such
 a messlage / for that ye trustyd he shuld
 be sumwhat answered and satysfied by
 me. I therefore thought it not metely i
 so many maters and weghy to make
 hym an vnaduyssed answer / but wyth
 good wordys welcomyng him for the
 tyme ptedyng lake of leysour for other
 pnt bisines / requyred him to retorne
 on the morow / Against whych tyme I
 wold so order myne other affares that
 we wold haue conference to gether of
 all hys erande at length. And he in this
 wyle beyng departyd I beganne to
 gather in mynde the hole effecte as my
 remeinberaunce wolde serue me of all
 that he had purposyd. And bycause I
 wolde haue yt the more redy at myne
 eye / so that I myght the more fully &
 effectually answer it leuyng no parte
 vntouchyd in suche order as he hade
 purposyd yt that is to wytt after the
 maner that I haue aboue rehersyd / I
 bryefely comynyttyd yt to wrytyng

The second chapyter

Here sumaryly is declared what
 order the Authoz intendyth to trete
 of the matters purposyd vnto hym.
 wherof because the fyrst was an op-
 pynyō conceyued in some mennys
 heddes that a certayn parōlate ab-
 iuryd

lured of heresy for preching against
pilgrymagys & ymagis and prayers
made to saynt^r was therein greatly
wronged. & author byeuely declareth
hys mynde concernyng the confuta-
cyon of those perylouse and pernyc-
tyouse oppynyons.

On þe morow whan he was cu-
men agayne sumwhat befoze
vii. of the clocke (for so I ap-
pointed hym) takyng hym wyth me in
to my study / and my saruants war-
ned that yf any other shulde happen
to desyre to speke wyth me / certayne
excepte of whome I gaue theyn know-
lege / they shulde dyfferre theyn tyll a
nother leysoz / I sett hym downe wyth
me at a litle table. And then I shewed
vnto hym that where he had purposed
on your behalf in short wordys many
long thyng^r wherof the rehersall were
losse of tyme to hym that so well knew
theyn all redy / I wolde all supfluous
recapitulacyon sett aparte / as breuely
as I conueniently coulde / shew hym
my mynde in theyn all. And fyrst by-
gyn where he bygan at the abiuracy-
on of the man he spake. Secūdy wold
I touche the condemnacyon and bur-
nyng of þe new testament translated
by Tyndale. Thyrdy sumwhat wold
I speke of Luther & hys secte in gene-
rall. Forthly and fynally þe thyng that
he touched laste that is to wytt þe wart
and fyghtyng agaynst infydels wyth
the condemnacyō of heretyques vnto
deth / whych twoo poyntys hym selfe
had combyned and knytte to gether.

And fyrst as touchyng the mater of
the mannes abiuracyon where it is re-
ported that the spyrytualtye dyd hym
wrong. And for to make that seme lyk-
ly there is layed in theyn displeasure/
malice & eny to ward hym for prechyng

fo. vi.

as ye say quod I agaynst theyr bych-
ouse luyng / And in hym is on the to-
ther syde alegyd myche connyng ver-
tue and goodnes. I wyll neyther enter
in to the prayse of theyn noz in to the
dyspreyse of hym / wherein standyth
nothyng theffecte of thys mater / For
if there dyd / I wold not passe ouer su-
parte therof so shortly.

But now for thys mater all though
the hole spyrytualtye / wherin no man
dowith to be many a ryght vertuous
and godly man / were in theyr luyng
farr wors than deuyll^r / yet yf they did
that mā no wrong / there hath for this
mater no man agaynst them eny caus
to cōplayn. And ouer thys yf that man
were in all hys other luyng as inno-
cent as a saynt / yet yf he were infected
a faulte in these heresydes / he had than
in thys mater no wrong. And yet be-
syde all thys yf he not onely were in all
other thyng^r very vertuous / but also
were of all those heresydes wherof he
was detected vtterly clene and faultles /
yet yf it were by suffycient wytnes /
were they neuer so fals in dede / lemyng
honest and lykely to say trew / prouyd
in opyn courte that he was faulty ther-
in / albeyt in suche case hys wytnessys
had wronged hym / yet had hys iudges
done hym but ryght. And therfore let-
ting passe as I say þe prayse oꝝ dyspray-
se of either hys iudg^r oꝝ him / as thyng^r
ys impertinent to þe point / I will shew
you þe they not onely dyd hym no wro-
ng / but also shewed hym / in my mynd
the gretest fauour / And bled to ward
hym the most charytable mercy þe euer
I wyll blyd to eny man in such case.
And fyrst as for any wrong þe hys iud-
gis did hym / I meruell me mych wher
in they that report yt could assygne it.
for yf any were done him / it must ned^r

B. ii. haue

haue ben in one of the twoo thyngys/
eyther in that he was vnruly iudgyd
to haue pchyd such artycles as he was
detectyd of where he pchyd none such
in dede / or ellys in that sum such arty-
cles as he prechyd were iudged & con-
demned for heresyces where they were
none in dede. Excepte that any man
wolde say that though he were proued
and conuictyd of heresyce yet he shuld
haue bene put to no penaunce at all or
ellys to no such as he was. And of that
poynt if eny mā so thynk / I shall speke
in þ fourth parte where we shall to wch
in generall the ordre that the chyrche
takyth in the condemnacyon of herety-
ques. But as for the tother poyntys
fyrst if eny preest wote owte of londo
in to your cuntraie that eny such arty-
cle of hys prechyng was by hys iude-
ges declared for heresyce as were in dede
good & not ageynst the fayth of crystys
chyrrch / lett hym name what artycle /
And eyther ye shall fynde that he shall
name you such as þ man was not char-
ged wyth all / or ellys shall ye fynde þ
such as he shall name you were such in
dede as your selfe shall pceyue for here-
syes at your ere / for þ artycles where
wyth he was chargebe were þ we shuld
do no worschyppe to eny ymages / nor
pray to eny seynty / or go on pylgry-
magys / whych thyngys I suppose eue-
ry good crystyn man wyll agre for he-
resyes. And therefore we shall lett that
poynt passe and so resort to the secunde
to se whyther it were well prouyd that
he preched thyn or no. Syr quod your
frend I wold for my parte well agree
theym for heresyces / but yet haue I hard
some or thys that wold not do so. And
therefore whan we call theym heresyces
it were well done to tell why / for some
men wold (I weene yf they myght be

hard) styffly say nay / whych now hold
theyre pease & bere theym selfe full col-
dely that wold take þ mater moze hote
saue for burnig of theyr lypys. Now
forsooth quod I who so euer wyll say þ
these be no heresyces / he shall not haue
me to dispute it which haue no tūing
in such maters / but as it best becūmyth
a ley man to do in all thyngys / lene &
cleue to the comen fayth / and byleue
of cryst chyrch. And therby do I plai-
ly know it for an heresyce / if an heresyce
be a secte and a syde way takyn by any
part of such as bene baptysyd and bere
the name of crystyn men fro the comen
fayth and byleefe of the hole chyrch be
syde. For thys am I very sure and per-
ceyue it well not only by experyens of
myne one tyme & the placys were my
selfe hath bene wyth comen report of
other honest mē from all other placys
of crystyndome / but by bokys also &
remembrauncys lefte of long tyme
wyth wrytyng of the olde holy fathers
and now sayntys in heuyn / that from
thappostles tyme hytherro this maner
hath ben blyd / taught & allowed / and
the contrary comonly condēnyd throggh
þ hole flok of all good crysten people.

And as touchyng such text as thes
heretykyes allege agaynst the worschyp-
pyng of ymagys / prayeng to sayntys /
and goyng o pylgrymagys / as they ley
the law geuen to the Jewes. Non faci-
es tibi. Stultile / thou shalt carue the
none ymage. And the plaline. In exitu
Israel de egipto / And soli deo hono-
et gloria / only to god be honor & glory.
And maledictus qui cōsidit in homine.
Accursed is he that putteth hys truste
in man wyth many suche other lyke /
whyth heretyques haue of old tyme bar-
ked agaynst chrystys catholyk chyrch /
very sure am I þ saynt Austen / saynt
hieronime

hieroine/ saint basyle/ saint gregory & so many a godly cunnyng mā as hath ben in crystis church from þe begynnyng hytherto/ vnderstod those text as wel as dyd those heretyques/ Namely ha- uying as good witt/ beyng farr better lernid/ vling in stody more diligence/ beyng an hepe to an handfull/ & which most ys of all hauing/ as god by many myracles beryth wyntes/ besyde theyr lernyng the lyght and clerenes of hys el- peryall grace / by which they were in- wardly taught of hys only spryrt to p- ceue that the wordis spokyn in the old law to the ieiweys people prone to Ido- latty/ and yet not to all theym nether/ For the prestys than had the ymagis of thangel cherubin in the secret place of the temple/ shulde haue no place to forbyd imagis among his crysten flok/ Where hys pleasure wold be to haue þe ymage of hys blessed body hāgyng on hys holy crosse/ had in honour and re- uerent remembraunce. where he wold vouchsaue to send vnto the kyng ab- iagarus the ymage of hys owne face/ where he lykdy to leue the holy verna- cle therpessle ymage also of hys blessed bysage as a token to remayn i honour amōg such as louyd hym from þe tyme of hys bytter passyon hytherto. which as it was by the myracle of hys blessed holy hād expessed and lefte i þe sudari/ so hath yt bene by lyke myracle in that thyn corruptyble cloth kepte and pre- seruyd vncorrupted thys . xv. C. yere freshe and well perceyued to þe iwarde cumfort/ spryrtuall reioysyng & grete encrease of feruoure and deuocyon in the hart of good crysten people. Crist also taught hys holy euangelyst saynt luke to haue an nother maner mynde to ward ymagis than haue these here- tyques/ whan he put in hys mynde to

counterfete and expresse in a table the louchly bysage of oure blessed lady hys mother. he taught also saynt amphyba- lus the mayster and teacher of the holy fyrst martyr of englond saynt albane to bere about and worshyppe þe crucy- fyr. who shewed also saynt albane him- self in a bysion þe ymage of þe crucy fyr but god: which thyng wrought i that holy man so strongly/ that he with few word of saynt amphybalus at þe sight of that blessed ymage which our lord had befoze shewid hym i hys slepe was clene turned to chrystendome/ And in the worshyping of þe same ymage was taken and brought forth to iudgement & afterward to martyrdoine.

¶ And there ys no man but yf he loue a nother he delitith i his ymage or eny thyng of hys. And these heretyques þe be so sore agaynst the ymagis of god & hys holy sayntis wold be yet ryght an- gry with hym þe wold dishonestly han- dle an ymage made in remembraunce of hi self/ where þe wretchedis forbere not vilanously to handle and to cast dyrt in dyspyte vppon the holy crucy fyr an- ymage made in remembraunce of our sautour hym selfe/ and not only of his most blessed pson but also of hys most bytter passion.

¶ Now as touching prayer made vnto the sayntis and worshyp done vnto theym/ much meruayle is it what cause of malice these heretyks haue to them. we se yt comen in the wretched cōdy- cyon of thys world that one man of a pride in him self hath enuy at a nother or for displasure done/ beryth to some other malyce and euyl wyll. But this must ned be a deuclish hatred to hate him whom thou neuer knewist/ which neuer did the harme/ which if he could now do þe no good where he is/ yet ey-

ther wyth hys good ensample gone be
foze the/oz hys good doctryne lefte by-
hynde hym/Doth the/but if thou be ve-
ry nought of thy self/gret good i this
worlde for thy iorney toward heuyn.
And thys muste nedys be an enuy cū-
myng of an hye deuelyshe pryde and
far passyng thenuye of the deuylly hym
self/for he neuer enuyed but such as he
saw & was conuersaunt wyth/as whā
he saw man and the glory of god. But
these heretyques enuye theym whome
they neuer saw noz neuer shall se but
whan they shalbe sory and ashamed in
theym self of þe gloryouse syght/¶ For
where they pretend the zeale of goddys
honour hi self/as though god to whō
only all honour and glory is to be ge-
uen/were dyshonored in that sum ho-
nour is done to hys holy sayntys/they
be not so mad noz so chyllyshe as they
make them self. For if all honour were
so to be geuen only to god þe we shulde
gyue none to no creature/where were
than goddys precepte of honour to be
geuyn to our father & mother/to pryn-
cys/gouernours & rulers here in erthe/
And as saynt Doule sayth euery man
to other ¶ And well they wote that the
chyrch wo:shyppeth not sayntys as god
but as goddis good saruauntis/& ther
foze the honour that is done to theym
redoundeth pryncypally to þe honour
of theyr mayster/lyke as in comē custū
of people we do reuerence sumtyme &
make great chere to sum men for theyr
maysters sakes whome ellys we wold
not happely byd ones good morow.
¶ And surely if eny benefite oz almes
done to one of cryste poze folke for hys
sake/be by hys hygh goodnes reputed
and accepted as done vnto hym self/
And that who so receyuyth one of hys
aposteles oz dyscyples receyuyth hym

selfe / euery wyse man may well cōsy-
der that in lyke wyse who so doth ho-
nour hys holy sayntis for his sake doth
honour hym self/ Excepte these herety-
ques wene þe god were as enuyouse
as they be theym selfe/And þe he wolde
be wroth to haue eny honour done to
eny other though it therby redounded
vnto hym selfe. whereof our sauyoure
cryste well declareth the contrary / for
he sheweth hym self so well cōtent,that
hys holy sayntys shalbe pertyners of
hys honour/ that he promysyth his ap-
osteles /that at þe dredfull dome whā
he shall cum in hys hygh maiestye they
shall haue theyr honourable sectis and
sytt wyth hym selfe vppon the iudge-
ment of the worlde ¶ Cryste also pū-
sed that saynt mary magdalene shulde
be wo:shypped thorow the worlde and
haue here an honorable remembraūce
for that she bestowed þe precyouse oym-
ment vppon hys holy hed . whych
thyng whan I consyder it makyth me
meruayle of the madnes of these herety-
ques that barke agaynst the old aūci-
ent customes of crystys chyrch / mo-
kyng the settingt vppe of cādellys and
wyth folyshe facces & blasphemous
mockery demaunde whyther god and
hys sayntys lak lyght oz whyther yt
be nyght wyth theym that they can not
see wythoute candle. They myght as
well aske what good dyd that oymen-
t to cryste hed. But the heretyques
gruge at the coste now/as theyre bro-
ther Judas dyd than/And say it were
better spent in almes vppon pore folk
And thys say many of theym whyche
can neyther fynde in theyre harte to
spēd vppon þe one noz the tother. And
sum spend sometyme vppon the tone
for none other entent but to thēd that
they may the moze boldely rebuke and
rayle

rayle agaynst the tother. But let the
all by that ensample of þ holý woman
and by those wordys of our sauýour/
lerne þ god delýteth to se þ feruēt herte
of þ hart deuociō boyl out by þ body/
And to do hi seruyse w all such good
of fortúe as god hath geui mā. What
ryches deuýsed our lord god hym selfe
in the making & garnishyng of þ tēple
& in the ornaments of þ auter and the
prestes apparayle/what was him selfe
the better for all thys/what for þ best
þ hym self cōmaūded to be offred hym
in lachryce/what for þ swete odours
and frankensence/why do these hereti
ques more mocke at þ maner of cryst
chyrche than they do at þ maner of þ
iewes synagoge but yf they be veter
iewes thā crysten mē. ¶ If mē wyll say
that the mony were better spent amōg
pooze folke by whō he more lettech / be
yng the quycke temples of þ holý goste
made by hys owne hand / than by the
temples of stone made by the hand of
man. ¶ Thys wold be percase very trew
if there were so lytle to do yt wylh that
we shuld be dreuyn of necessitye to leue
þ tone vndōe. But god geuyth inough
for both. And geuyth dyuerse men dy
uers kyndys of deuocyō and all to hys
pleasure. In which as thapostle Poule
sayth let euery mā for hys parte abou
de & be plentuous in þ kynde of vertu
þ the spyryte of god guydeth hym to. &
not to be of the folysh mynde þ luther
is/which wisheth in a sermō of his þ he
had in hys hād all the pecys of the holy
crosse. And saith þ yf he so had he wold
thow them there as neuer sonne shuld
shyne on thē. And for what worship
full reaso wold þ wreche do such belay
ny to þ crosse of chryst/by cause as he
sayth that there is so mych golde now
bestowed aboute þ garnishyng of the
pyccys of the crosse that there is none

To. bill.

lefte for pore folke. Is not thys a high
reason/as though all þ golde þ is now
bestowed aboute the pecys of the holy
crosse wolde not haue faylede to haue
be geuen to poze mē if they had not be
bestowed abowte the garnishyng of the
crosse. And as though ther were nothig
lost but þ is bestowed about crist cros
¶ Take all þ gold þ is spent about all
þ pecys of chryst crosse thorow chris
tendome/albe it many a good chrystē
prince and other godly people hath ho
nourably garnished many peces ther
of/ yet yf all þ golde were gathered to
gether/yt wold appere a poze porcyon
in comparison of þ gold þ is bestowed
vppon cuprys/what speke we of cup
rys/ in whych þ gold albe it þ it be not
geuen to poze men yet ys it saued and
may be geuen in almouise whan men
wyll whych they neuer wyll/how smal
a porcyon wene we were þ gold about
all þ pecys of chrystys crosse yf yt were
compared with þ gold þ is quyte cast a
way about þ gyltig of kniuis / sword
spoyrs/arrace/ & paynted clothes/and
as though these thyngis could not co
sume gold fast inough þ gyltig of pol
rys & hole refes/not only in the palac
of princys and great prelatis/but also
many ryght uene mēnes housis. And
yet amōg all these thingis coud luther
spy no gold þ greuouly glyterid i his
bleryd cyes but onely aboute þ cros of
chryst. þ gold yf yt were thēs the wyse
man wenyth yt wold be streyght geue
to poze mē. and þ where he dayly seeth
þ such as haue theyr purs full of golde
geue to þ poze not one pece therof but
yf they gyue ought they ransake the bo
toine among all þ gold to seke out here
an half peny or in his countrey a bras
peny wherof four make a ferthing/such
goodly causesid they þ stend holines
for þ colour of theyr cloked heresy.

The thyrd chapiter.

Chobiections of þ messenger made agaynst prayeng to sayntys / worshypppyng of ymagys / and goyng in pylgrymagys wyth the answer of the author vnto the same. And incydently is it by þ messenger moued that there shuld seme no necessity for chrysten folke to resort to any chyrchys / but þ all were one to pray thens oꝝ there. And that opynyon by þ author answered and cofuted.

A thyrs poynt your frend desyryng me that what so euer he shuld say I shuld not reke it as spoken of hys own opynyon / but that he wold partely shew me what he had hard sum other say therein / to thende that he myght the better answer therein wyth þ he shuld here of me. This protestacyō and prefacyon made / he sayd that albe it no good man wolde agre þ it were well done to do vnto sayntys oꝝ theyr ymagē dyspyte oꝝ dyshonoꝝ / yet to go in pylgrymage to theym oꝝ to pray to theym not only semyd in vayne confyderyng þ all they yf they can any thing do / can yet do no more for vs among theym all than chryste can hym selfe alone that can do all / noꝝ be not so redy at our hand to here vs if they here vs at all as chryste þ is euery where / noꝝ here vs halfe the loue and lōgyng to helpe vs that doth our sauour þ died for vs / whome as saynt Poule sayth we haue for our aduocate afore the father / But ouer this it semyth to smell of Idolatry whā we go o pylgrymage to this place & that place / As though god were not lyke strong oꝝ not lyke present in euery place / But as the deuyls were of olde vnder þ false name of goddys present and assystent in the Idollys & mānietys of the paganyss /

so wolde we make it seme that god and hys saitt stode i this place & þ place / to this post & that post cutte out and carryd in imagys. For whā we rekyne our self to be better herd wyth our lord in kent than at Cambryge / at the north dore of Poules than at the south dore / at one ymage of our Lady than at another / is it not an eydyet token and in maner a playne prooffe that we put our trust and confydence in the ymage selfe & not in god oꝝ our lady : whych is as good i þ tone place as the tother and the tone ymage no more lyke her than þ tother / noꝝ cause why she shuld fauour the tone before the tother. But we blynde peple in stede of god & hys holy sayntys theym selfe cast our affecyons to the ymagys selfe and therto make our prayers / therto make oure offryngys / & wene these ymagys were þ very sayntys selfe of whom our help & helth shuld grow / puttyng our full trust in this place & þ place as negro mācers put theyr trust in theyr cercles wyth whyche they thynke theym selfe sure agaynst all þ deuyllys i hell / And wene yf they were one ynch wythout / that than the deuyl wold pull them in pelys / but as for the cercle he dare not for hys erys onys put ouer hys nose. And men reken that the clergye is gladde to fauour this ways & to noꝝ the this superstycyon vnder þ name & colour of deuocyon to þ pell of þ peples soules for the lucre & tēporall aduantage þ theym self receyue of þ offryngis. Whan I had hard him say what hym lyked I demaunded if he minded euer to be preste / wherunto he answered nay verely / for me thynketh q he that therbe preestys to many all redy but if they were better. And therefore whā god shall seide tyme I purpose he sayd to

contra ymagines
adorationis et
pigrinacionis

to marry .well sayd I than syth I am
all redy married twice & therfore neuer
can be priest/and ye be so set in mynde
of marriage y^e ye neuer wyll be priest/
we two be not the most metely to pon-
der what myght be said in thys matter
for y^e priestys parte. ¶ Now be it whan
I consyder yt/me thynkyth surely that
yf the thyng were such as ye say so far
from all fraue of ryght relygyon/and
so perelous to men soulls/I can not
perceue why that the clergy wold for y^e
gayn they get thereby/suffer such abu-
sion to contynue. For fyrst yf yt were
trew that no pylgrimage ought to be
vlyd/non ymage offred vnto/noz wo-
ship done/noz prayour made vnto eny
saint/¶ Than yf none of all these thigs
had euer bene i bye o: now were all vn-
done/¶ If that were the ryght way/as I
wote well it were wrong/than were it
to me lytle question but crysten people
beyng in the trew fayth and in y^e right
way to god ward/wold thereby nothig
flake theyr good myd toward the mi-
nisters of hys chyrch/but theyr deuoci-
on shuld towarde the ym moze & moze
encrese. So yf they now get by thys
way one peny/theye shulde yf thys be
wrong and the tother ryght/not fayle
i stede of one peny now/thā to receyue
a grote. And so shulde no lucre gyue
theym cause to fauour this way and it
be wrong/whyle they could not fayle to
wyn moze by y^e right. ¶ Moreover loke
me thorow christedome & I suppose ye
shal fid y^e frute of those offerigs a right
small parte of the lyuyng of the clergy/
And such as though lū few plac^t wold
be glad to retayne/ yet the hole body
might without any notable losse easily
forbere.

¶ Let vs cōsidre our owne cūtre here/
& we shal fid of these pilgrimages farr y^e

most parte in y^e hād of such relygyous
plones o: suche poze pryshis as bere no
grete rule i y^e cōuocacōns. & besid^t thys
ye shal not fid I supople y^e eny bishope
i cōglād hath y^e pfitte of one grote of eny
such offryng wythin hys diocysle. ¶ Now
standeth then the continuaunce or the
brekyng of thys maner and custome
specyally in them whych take no pro-
fyte thereby. whych if they belcuid it to
be such as ye call it superstyciouse and
wykkyd wold neuer suffer it contynue
to the peryshynge of mennys soules/
whereby them selue shuld distroye their
owne soules/and neyther in body nor
goodys take any cōmodityte. And ouer
thys we see that the bishoppes & and
prelatys them seluys visite those holy
placys and pylgrimages wyth as large
offryngys/and as grete cost in cōmynge
and goige as other people do/so y^e they
not only take no temporall aduātage
therof/but also bestowe of ther owne
therin.

¶ And surely I beleue this deuocys so
plantyd by goddes owne hand in the
hart of the hole chyrch/that is to wyt
not the clergy only but the hole con-
gregacyon of all crystyn peple/that yf
the spyrytualtye were of the mynde to
leue it/ yet wold not the temporaltye
suffer it.

¶ Now yf it so were that pilgrimages
hanged only vppō y^e couytyse of euyl
prest/for euyl must they be that wold
for couytyse helpe the people forward
to idolatrye/ than wold not good pres-
tys and good bishoppys haue vlyd
thē theyre selues. But I am very sure
that many an holy bishop/ & therwith
excellently well lernyd in scripture/ &
the law of god haue had hygh deuocys
on therto.

¶ For where as ye say men reken that
yt smel-

yt smelleth of Idolatrye to hysyt this place & that place / as though god were more myghty or more present in oone place then a nother / or that god or his sayntys hade bounden them selues to stand at thys Image or that Image / and that by mēnes deuicature therby shuld appere that the pylgrymys put theyr trust in þ place or the Image yt selfe takyng that for very god / or for the very saynt of whom they seke for helpe / and so fare lyke necromancers that put theyr trust i þ cerche / Surely syr holy saynt Austen in an epytill of hys whych he wrote to the clergy and the people takethe pylgrinagys for a more crenest thyng. And sayeth that though the cause be to vs vnknown why god doth in some place miracles & in sum place none / yet is it no doute but he so dothe. And therein hade that good holy doctor so grete confydence that as he sayeth him selfe / he set twoo of hys prestys in pylgrymage for the tryall of the trouth of a grete matter in contencion and debate betwene them out of Syppona in assyke vnto saynt Stephens chyrche in myllayn / where many myracles werre wont to be shewed / to shend that god myght there by sum meanes / cause the truth to be declared and made open by hys power / whych by noo meane known to man he could well fynde out /

Nor they þ goone on pylgrymage do nothyng lyke to those necromancers to whom ye resemble them that put theyre confydence in the rundell & cerche on þ ground / for a speryall beleue that they haue in the cumpace of that ground by reason of folysse caractys and figures aboute it with the inuocacyons of euyll spyrytys and samylaryte with deuylis beynge enmys to god /

& the craft & ways of all that warke by god hym selfe prohibyted and forbode and that vppon the payn of death / what lyknes hath þ vnto the goyng of good men vnto holy placys not by enchaunt mēte dedicat to þ deuyl / but by goddys holy ordynaunce wyth his holy word consecratyd vnto hym self. which two thingys yf ye wold resemble to gyther so myght ye blasphemie and haue i dysrision all the deuout ryt & cerymonys of the chyrch / both in the deuine seruice as encensyng / haloynge of the fyre / of þ fount / of the pascall lambe / and ouer þ the exorcysmys / benedycyons / and holy straunge gesturys vlyd in consecracyon or mynystracyon of the blesyd sacramētys / all whych holy thyngys gret parte wherof was froime hand to hand left in the chyrch from the tyme of crystys apostles and by them left vnto vs as yt was by god taught vnto them / men myght now folysly mysslyken vnto þ superstycious deuicature & fond fassyon of iuglery. Nor the flock of crystys not so folyshe as those heretyques bere them i hand / that where as there ys no dogg so mad but he knoweth a very cony from a cony carued & paynted / crysten peple that haue reason in theyre hedde & therto the light of fayth in theyr soulys shuld wene that thymagys of our lady were our lady her self. May they be not I trust so madde but they do reuerence to thymage for þ honour of the person whom yt representyth / as euery mā delytyth i thymage & remeinbraūs of hys frend. And albe yt that euery good crysten man hath a remeinbryng of crystys passyon in hys mind & cōsuyth by deuout meditaciō a soone & fassyo therof in hys hart / yet is there no mā I wene so good no / so well lerned no / i meditacyō so well accustomed

customyd / but that he fyndyth hym
selfe more meind to pite and compassi-
on vppon the beholdinge of the holy
crucifyte than whan he laketh it / And
yf ther be any that for the maintenaunce
of hys opynyon wyll perauenture saye
that he fyndeth it otherwys in hym
selfe / he shuld giue me cause to fere that
he hath of crystys passyon neyther the
tome way nor the rother but a very fait
felynge / syth that the holy fathers be-
fore vs dyd / and all deuoute people a
bout vs do fynde and fele in the selfe
the contrary

¶ Nowe for the reason that you aleg-
quod / where ye saye that in resorting
to thys place and that place / this image
and that image / we seme to reken as
though god were not i euery place like
myghty or not lyke presēt / thys reaso
procedeth no more against pilgrima-
gys thā against all the chyrchys i crysten
doe. For god is as myghty i the stable
as in y temple. And as he is not cōphē-
ble nor circūscrybed no where / so is he
present euery where / But thys letteth
not heuen / be it a corporall thyng or
not / to be the place of a speciall manere
and kynde of hys presence / in whych
hys lyketh hym to shewe hys glorious
image to hys blessyd heuently cōpa-
ny / which he sheweth not vnto damp-
ned wretches in hell / and yet ys he ne-
uer thense. So likid it his goodnes to
go wyth hys chosen people thorough
the deserte i the cloude by day and the
pyler of fyre by nyght / yet was he not
bounden as ye resemble it lyke the dā-
ned spyryts to the olde Idols of the
panyns /

¶ It likid him also to chese the arche y
was carryed wyth hys people / at which
arche specially by miracle he diuers ty-
mes declared hys especyall assystence

Fo. r.

the arche beynge traunslyatyd fro place
to place. was it not also his pleasure to
be spēcally present in hys temple of
Ierusalem tyll he suffred it to be destroy-
ed for theyr synne. And in stede of that
oone place of prayer to which he wold
byfore that all hys people shuld come
he hath vouchsafyd to sprede hym selfe
abrode in to many tēples / and i more
acceptable wysse to be worshypped in
many templys thorow oute hys cris-
tyn flokke /

¶ Here sayde your frend that the temp-
le of cryste is as saynt poule sayeth mā-
nis harte / and that god is not includ-
ed nor shytted in any place / And so hi selfe
sayd to the woman of Samarie / that
very worshyppers shulde worshyp in
spyryte / and in truihe / not i the hyll or
in Iherusalem or any other temple of
stone /

¶ Wher vnto I shewd hi that I wold
well agre / that no temple of stone was
vnto god so plefant as the temple of
mannys harte / But yet that nothyng
letteth or wythstandyth but that god
wyl that hys cryste people haue i sun-
dry placys sundry tēples and chyrchys
to whych they shulde belyde theyr pry-
uat prayours assemble solemply / and
resorte in company to worshyp him to-
gether such as dwell so nere to gether
that they may conueniently resorte to
one place .

¶ For albe it oure sauour sayed quod
I vnto the woman of whom ye spake
that the tyme shulde come i which they
shulde neyther worshyp god i that hill
of Gezara nor in Iherusalem neyther /
whych places were after dystroied and
desolate / and the Pagane manere of
worshyppig of y tone / a y Iues maner
of worshyppig in y rother turnyd both
in to the maner of worshyppig of cristē
faith

Fayth and religyon/ yet said he not to her þ they shulde neuer after worship god i none other temple/ But he said that the time shuld come/ and thā was comen all redy whan the very trewe worshyppers shulde worshyp god in spyryt and truth/ And that as god is a spyrytuall substance / so lokyd he for worshyppers that shuld i such wyse worshyp hym. In whych wordys our sauour reprovdy all false worship as was vsyd after paganyne i that hyll in Samaria/ and all suche worshyp as was done i any place wyth opyniō that god myght not be worshyppyd els where. Those þ so byleue they be such as bynde god to a place / whych oure Lorde reprovyth/ shewyng that god may in hart truly and spyrytuallly be worshipid euery where. But this excludyth not that besidis that he wil be worshyppyd in hys holy temple/ no more thā whan he gaue coucell that for auoydyng of baynglorye a man shall not stand and praye in the strete to gather worldely prayse/ but rather secretly pray in hys chamber/ This counsell forbaddē not the Jewes to whom he gaue it that they shuld neuer after cum in to the temple/ and pray. ¶ And suerly albeit that sū good mā here and there one among. x. thousād as saynt Doule and seynt Antony / & a fewe such other lyke / do lyue all heuēly far out of all fleshy company / as far from all occasyō of worldly wretchednes / as from the comen temple or parvysh chyrch/ yet if chyrches & cōgregacyōs of crystyn peple resortig to gether to godd^s seruyce were onis abolished and put away/ we were lyke to haue few good tēples of god i mēnys soules/ but all wolde wythin a whyle weare away clene and clerely fall to

nought. And thys preue we by experyence/ that those which be the best tēples of god in their soules/ they most vble to cum to the temple of stone/ And those that lest cum there be well knowen for very rebaudys and vnthryfys / and opely perseyuyd for temples of the deuyll/ And thys not in our dayes only/ but so hath been from Crystys dayes hether/ I trowe no man doutyth but that Crystys appostyls were holy tēples of god in theyr soules/ And well vnderstode þ wordis of theyr inaster spokyn to the woman of Samary/ as the thyng whych theyre mayster after told them hym selfe/ or elles how colde sum of them haue wrytyn that cōmunycacyon whyche none of them hard as apperyth by the gospell. But they not in theyr maysters days oly/ but also after his resurrexyō and after that they had reseruyd the holy gost/ and were by hi instructyd of euery truth longyng to þ necessity of theyr saluacyō/ were not content only to pray secretly by them self in theyr chambers/ but also resortyd to þ tēple to make theyre prayers/ And i þ place as a place plesāt to god dyd they pray in spyryte and in truth/ As well apperyth in the boke of saynt Luke wrytyn of the Actys of Crystes holy Apostellys/ So that no doute ys there/ but that yet vnto thys day and so forth to the worldys ende/ it is and shalbe plesāute vnto god/ that hys chosen people pray to hym and call vppō hym in temple and chyrch. where of hi selfe wytnessyth wyth the Prophete/ *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.* My house shalbe called a house of prayer. ¶ Now makith your reason as I sayed no more agaynst pylgrynag^e than agaynst euery chyrch. For as god is not bounden to the place / no^r oure confy.

confydence bounden to the place but
vnto god though we reckē our prayour
more pleſaunt to god in the chyrch thā
wythout/by cauſe hys hygh goodnes
accepteth it ſo/in lyke wyſe do not we
reken our lord bounden to þ place oꝝ
image where þ pylgrymage is though
we woꝛſhypp god ther by cauſe hym ſelf
lykþyſh ſo to haue it.

The.iiii.chapiter.

Chyꝛ author declarēth in þ cōpō-
ſacyon of pylgrymagys that yt ys
the pleaſure of god to be ſpecyally
ſoughte & woꝛſhypped in ſome one
place byfore a nother. And albe that
we can not attayne to þ knowledge
of the cauſe why god doth ſo / yet þ
author pꝛoueth by greatte authory-
te that god by myracle teſtyfyeth yt
ys ſo.

yth thys your frēd asked me
w what reſon were there þ god
wold ſette moze by one place
than by a nother/oꝝ how know we þ he
ſo doth namely yf the tene be a chyrch
as well as the tother. **C**whereunto I
anſwered that why god wold do yt I
coude make hym no anſwere no moze
thā ſaynte auſten ſayeth that he coude.
I was neuer ſo nere of his couſell noꝝ
dare not be ſo bold to aſk hym/but that
he ſo doth in dede þ I ā ſure I noughe.
yet not foꝝ that he ſettyth moze by that
place foꝝ the ſoyl and pauement of þ
place/ but that hys pleaſure in ſome
place is to ſhewe moze hys aſſyſtence
and to be moze ſpecyally ſought vnto
than in ſum other. **C**thā he aſked me
wher by was I ſo ſure of þ. wheruppon
I demaunded hym that yf it ſo were þ
the thyng ſtādyng in debate & queſtyō/
it wold lyke our lord to ſhew a myracle
foꝝ the proſſe of the tene parte/wolde

To. xi.

re not quod I reken than the queſtyon
were decyded/ & þ do wote aſſoyled/ and
þ parte ſufficyently proued/yes mary
quod he that wold I. well quod I than
ys thys matter oute of doute lōg a go.
foꝝ god hath pꝛued my parte in dyuerſe
pylgrymag by the workyng of many
moꝝ thā a thouſād myracles one tyme
and other. In the goſpell of John the
fyft chapiter where we rede that the
angell moued the water/ & who ſo next
went in was cured of hys dyſcaſe/ was
it not a ſufficyent profe that god wold
they ſhuld cuin thether foꝝ theyr helth/
Albe yt no man can telle why he ſentt
thāgell rather thither & there dyd hys
myracles than in a nother water. But
whan ſo cuer oure lord hath in any
place wrought a myracle/all though he
nothig do it foꝝ þ place/ but foꝝ þ honor
of þ ſaynt whom he wyll haue honored
in þ place/oꝝ foꝝ þ ſayeth þ he fyndeth
wyth ſome that prayeth in that place/
oꝝ foꝝ the increaſe of ſayeth whych he
fyndeth ſallynge and decayed in that
place nedynge the ſhewe of ſō myracles
foꝝ the reuyuyng/ what ſo cuer þ cauſe
be/ yet I thynke thāſſeccyon is to be cō-
mended of men and women þ w good
deuocy on rōne thether where they ſee
oꝝ here that our lord ſheweth a demōſ-
tracyon of hys ſpecyall aſſyſtēce. And
whan he ſheweth many in oone place/
it ys a good tokē þ he wold be ſought
vppon and woꝛſhypped there. Many
iewes were ther that cā to hyerulaſein
to ſe þ myracle that chryſt had wrought
vppon lazare as the goſpell reherſeth.
and ſuerly we were worſe than iewes
yf we wold be ſo necllygent that where
god worketh myracles / we liſte not
oons go moue our ſote thetherwarde.
we marueyle moch that god ſheweth
no moꝝ myracles now a dayes/whan
L. yt ys

yt ys mych moze maruell that he doth
bouchsaufe to shewe any at all among
such unkynde slouthfull dedely people
as lyst not oones lyte vp theyr hedde
to loke theron/oz p our incredulyte ca
suffer hym nowe adays to worke eny.

The. v. chapter.

¶ Because pylgrinag^e be ainog o-
ther pyps testyfyed by myracles/ p
messenger doth make obieccyō agaisst
those myracles/partely lest they be
faynyd & vntrew/partly lest they be
done by p deuill if they be doe at all

Uthā sayd your frēd/well I pseue
thē p force & effect of all p pfe
stādpyth all in myracles/whyth I wyll
agree to be a strōg pfe yf I saw thē dō
and wer sure p god oz good saynt^e did
them/But fyrst syth p mē may & hap-
pely do of myracles make many a lye/
we must not proue thys matter by the
myracles/but yf we furste proue p the
myracles were trew. And ouer thys yf
they were doon in ded/yet luth p āgell
of darknes may trāsfōrme & trāsfigure
hym self/in to an āgell of lyght / howe
shall we know whether p myracle were
don by god to thēcrease of crystē deuo-
cyō/oz dō by p craft of p deuyl to thad
uauēemēt of mysbyleue & idolatrye/in
settyng mēnys hartys vppon stokkys
& stones in stede of sayntys/oz vppon
sayntys them self that are but creatur-
es in stede of god hym self.

¶ I answered hym that the force off
my tale was not the myracles / but p
thyng p I hold stronger thē any myra-
cles/whyth as I sayed in p begynnyng
I rekē so sure & fast & therw so playne
& euydēt vnto euery crystē mā/p it ne-
deth no other profe/and p thyng is as
I sayed afore p sayth of chryst^e chyrch
by p coine cōsent wherof these maters
be decyded & well knowē p p worshyp

of sayntys & imagys been allowed ap-
pbate & accustomed for good chrysten
& merytorous vertues. and p cōtrary
opynyōn not only reprocued by many
holy doctours/but also cōdēpned for
heresyēs by sundry generall cōsailys.
And thys in p begynnyng I told you q
I was & shuld be p force & strēgh of my
tale/Albe yt of trouthe I sayed vnto
you besyde/p me thoght p p myracles
wrought by god were suffycyēt profe
& auctoryte therefore all though there
were none other. whyth thyng syth ye
seme to inpugne / I shall as I cā make
you ālwer therunto. ¶ Nay syr say he
I pray you take me not soo as though
p I dyd impugne it but as I shewd ye
beefore/ I reherlyd you what I haue
hard som other saye. In good tyme q
I. Thā becaus they be not here I prey
you defēd & bere out theyr pte w all p
ye haue hard thē saye/ And lett therto
also all p euer your own mynd geueth
you p they may more herafter saye lest
you retoyn not fully furnisid for your
purpose.

The. vi chapter

¶ Because p messenger thynkpyth p
he may well mystrust and deny the
myracles / bycause reason and na-
ture telle hym that they can not be
dō/therfore fyrst p author sheweth
what vnresonablenes wold ensue/
if folke wold stand so styffe agaynst
all credence to be geuen to any such
thyng as reason and nature shuld
seme to gayne saye.

And fyrst where ye saye. Nay
quod he where they saye. well
quod I soo be it where they saye / For
here euer my tonge tryppythe. But
now therfore fyrste where they saye p
they neuer sawe any of these myracles
themy self/and therfore the myracles
do

be no p[ro]ofe to them whych whyle they
 neuer sawe them are not bounde to be
 leue them/they seime eyther very nece-
 gent yf they nothyng equere whā they
 mystrust & dout of the trowth in such a
 wayghy matter/o: yf they haue dyl-
 gēly made enserche than must it ned-
 be p[ro]f they haue hard of so many tolde &
 rcherlyd by the mowthes & the wryting
 of io good and credyble personis /that
 theye seime vntreasonably suspicyous
 yf they thynke all to gether lyes that so
 many trow mē o: mēlike to be trow so
 farthfully do report. At these mē were
 suggys fewe matters wold take ede at
 they r hād /o: at p[ro] lest p[ro] playncife shuld
 haue well spede if they wold beleue no
 thyng but that were p[ro]ued /no: rekē
 nothig p[ro]ued but p[ro] they se them ielfe.
 ¶ Thus may euery man rekē him selfe
 vnSURE of hys owne father if he beleue
 no mā /o: bycause all p[ro]f p[ro]f therot stā
 dyth but vppō one woman / And p[ro] vppō
 her whych though she can tell best / yet
 yf yf be w[ro]ng hath grētest cause to ly.
 ¶ Let p[ro] knowlege of p[ro] father alone ther
 fore amōg our wyffys m[is]teries / And
 lett vs se yf we beleue nothyng but p[ro]
 we se our self. who cā rekē him self iure
 of hys own mother / for possible it were
 p[ro] he were chaunged in p[ro] cradell / and a
 ryche mānts no:ce bryng hōe her owne
 chylde for her masters / & kepe her mas-
 ters for her own to make her own a gē
 tylmā good chepe. And thys were no
 grete mastery / whyle p[ro] mother hath of
 her owne chylde no ere marke. ¶ Sir q
 your frend yf I shuld aswere the thus
 & by thes exaples p[ro]ue the p[ro] they wer
 of reaso bounde to beleue such miracles
 as were reportyd bycause many credy-
 ble mē tell the / for as moch as ellys we
 shuld beleue nothig but that we se our
 self / and than were all the world full of

To. xii.
 cōfession / no: no iudgēt could be ge-
 ue / but vppō thyngys don in p[ro] iudgē
 sight / I shuld I se me very teibly sa-
 tyfy them. For they wolde lone say p[ro]
 thē examples be nothyng like p[ro] mater.
 But as it is reaso p[ro] I shuld beleue ho-
 neste mē in all such thyng / as may be
 trow / & wherē I se no cause why they
 shuld lye / so were agaynst all reaso to
 beleue mē be they neuer so many / seime
 they neuer so credible / where as reaso
 a nature (of whych twayne euery one
 ys alone more credyble then they all)
 sheweth me plainly p[ro] theyre tale is vn-
 trow / as yf muste neoyys yf the matter
 be impossyble as it is in all thes myra-
 cles. And in such case though I can
 leue no p[ro]fit p[ro] they cā receyue therby /
 yet whā I wel se p[ro] it could not be trow
 I must well se that it was not trowe.
 And therby must I nedis knowe p[ro] yf
 they can take no p[ro]fyt by lying / they
 ly not for eny couertyce / but eue oly for
 theyr speyall pleasure. ¶ Forsooth q
 thys is right weryly answered. & to say
 the trothe / as far as we be yet gone in
 the matter of these myracles not my-
 hamysse / no: very far fro p[ro] poynt. But
 syth thys thyng ys mych materiyall / as
 wheruppō many grete thyngys do de-
 pend / we shall not so shortly make yt
 of / but we shall cum one step o: twain
 nere to p[ro] matter. And fyrst I wyll say
 to the that it were hard for them & not
 very sure to beleue p[ro] euery mā lyeth /
 whych tellyth the a tale for trow p[ro] reaso
 a nature seynch to shew the to be fals
 & impossible. For i this wise shall they in
 many thigys erre & clerely deceyue the
 self. And iurpne whyle they make the
 selfe sure of p[ro] w[ro]g lyde yf they wold
 with wageours cōtend & stryue ther /
 they shuld vppō the boldnes of nature
 and reaso lease all that euer they were
 L. ii. able

able to ley theron. If there were a man
of Inde y neuer cam owt of hys cūtre
noz neuer had sene eny whyte man oz
woman in hys lyfe/and syth he seethe
innumerable people blakke/he myght
wene that yt were agaynst the nature
of mā to be whyte/Now yf he shall by
cause nature semeth to shew him so/be
leue therfoze that all the worlde lyed yf
they wold say the contrary/who were
in y wrog/he that beleueth his reaso
nature/oz they y agaynst hys pswayd
of reason & nature shall tell hyin as yt
ys of truthe. (You frend answered y
reaso & nature told not y man of inde
y all men shuld be blak/but he beleued
to agaynst reaso & agaynst nature/foz
he had no thig to lede hyin to it but by
cause hyin self sawe no whyte / whyche
was no reaso. And he might by nature
perceyue yf he had lernynge y the hete
makyth hys countre blakke/ And y of
syke reaso/ y cold of other cūtreys must
make the people whyte. Well q And
yet he commeth to hys pswayson by
a syllogisme & relonyng / almoste as
so mall as is the argumente by whych
ye proue the kinde of man reasonable/
whereof what other collectio haue you
y brought you first to perseyue it than
that thys man ys resonable / and thys
man/ & thys man / and thys man/ and
so forthe all whom ye se. By ensample
whereof by the whom ye knowe / prei
ming therby no man to be otherwyse/
ye conclude/ that every man ys resona
ble. And he thynkethe hyin selfe suter
in hys argument than he thiketh you
in yours. Foz he saw neuer other but
blakke people/where ye se many men
colys. As for that he herethe of other y
ther he sawe no colys where/ thys ser
ueth nothing for your purpose if ye be
lene no wyse agaynst the thyng y

your reason & experyence sheweth you.
And where as ye say/ if the man of ide
had lernynge he shulde perseyue that
it is not agaynst nature/ but rather co
sonant wyth nature y sum other men
shuld i other contres be whyte though
all hys colitre men be blake / so pauc
ture those whose part ye now sustayn
if they had sum lernynge that they lak/
shuld well perseyue that of reaso they
shuld giue credence to credable psons
reportyng them thyngs that seme far
agaynst reason bicause they be farre a
boue reaso/ wherof we may paraduen
ture haue moze perseyuig i our comu
nycacyd here after ere euer we fynysh
that we haue in hande. But in the
meane whyle to shew you farther what
necessyte ther ys to beleue other men
in thyngys not only vnknewen / but
also seemynge impossyble/ the man of
Inde y we spake of can by no lernynge
know the course of the sonne where
by he shuld perseyue the cause of hys
blaknes/but yf yt be by astronomye/
which cunnyng who can lerne that no
thyng wyl beleue that seemyth to him
self impossyble/ oz who wold not wene
it impossyble but if experyence had prou
it y y hole yerth hagerth i the ayre/and
me walk fote agaynst fote & thyp sayll
botd agaynst botd/a thig so straunge &
semig so far agast nature & reaso/that
lactatius a maright wise & well lernid
i hys worke whych he wyrteth de deut
nis institutionib⁹ rekenyth it for imposs
ble/a letterth not to laugh at y phyloso
phers for assymig of y poit/whyth is
yet now founde trew by experyences of the
that haue in lesse than two yerys say
lyd the worlde round about. who wold
wene it possyble that glasse wer made
of ferre colys. Now yf those y wene
it impossyble by reason/ & neuer sawe it
done

Done beleue no man that tell yt them/
able yt þ̄ yt be no perell to theyr soule/
yet so much haue they knowlege þ̄ les/
a vnracionably stande in theyr ciuile
thorow the mistrustynge of the trewth.
¶ It ys not yet fylty yeres a goo lyns
þ̄ first man as far as me haue hard/cāe
to lōd on that euer parted þ̄ gylt from
the syluer consumynge thortey the syl-
uer into dust with a very fayer water/
In so farr forth that whan the synners
and goldsmithes of london hard fyrst
therof they nothyng wondred therof
but laughed thereat as at an impossy-
ble ly/i which persuasions if they had
cōtynued styll they had yet at this day
laxed all that connyng. ¶ Yet wyl I
not say nay but that a man may be to
lyght in beleue/and be by such ensam-
ples brought into beleue to farr. As
a good seruaunt and frend of myne late I
talkynge of this matter of matue p̄ys
a miracles entending merely to make
me beleue for a trouthe a thyng þ̄ could
neuer be/ fyrst brought in what a force
the fyre hath that will make two peccs
of yron able to be ioyned and cleue to
gyther/and wyth the helpe of þ̄ hammer
be made both one which no hammerynge
could do wythout the fyre/whyth thig
because I dayly see I assented. Than
sayed he fertyer/þ̄ yet was more mar-
uayle that the fyre shall make Iren to
tōne as syluer oꝝ lead doth/a make it
take a prynt. whyth thyng I told hym
I had neuer sene/ but bycause he sayed
he had sene it I thought it to be trew.
¶ Done after thys/ he wold haue me to
beleue þ̄ he had sene a pece of syluer of
twoo oꝝ thre inchys aboute & in lēgth
lesse than a fote drawē by mānes hād
thorowe strayne holes made in a irone
tyll it was brought in thyknelle not
halfe a inche aboute/ & i lēgth drawē

To. xiii.
oute I cannot tell how many yardys.
And whē I hard hi say þ̄ he sawe thys
hi selfe thā I wylt well he was merely
dyspōseu. ¶ Mary syr q your frēde it
was hys tyme to gyue him ouer whā he
cā to þ̄. well said I what yf I shuld tell
you now þ̄ I had seen þ̄ same / by my
faythe q he merely I wold beleue it at
le yf I had seen the same/and
in þ̄ meane whyle I could not let you
to say your pleasure i your own house
but I wold thynk that ye were dyspos-
sed merely to make me a fole. wel seyde
I/ what yf there wold besydys me/ ten
oꝝ. xx. good honest men tell you þ̄ same
tale/and that they had all seen the thig
done thē self. In fayth quod he syrth
I am sēt hyther to beleue you/ I wold
in that poynt beleue your self alone/as
well as thē all. well quod I ye mean
ye wold beleue ys all a lyke. But what
wold you than say yf one oꝝ twayne of
thē wold say moze. ¶ Mary q he than
wold I beleue thē lesse. what yf they
wold q I shew you þ̄ they haue seene
that the pece of syluer was ouer gylt. &
the same pece beyng styll drawen tho-
row the holes þ̄ gylt not rubbyd of but
styll goo forth i lēgth wyth the syluer
so that all þ̄ lēgth of many yerd̄ was
gylted of the gyltyng of the fyrst pece
not a fote longe. Surely syr quod he
those twayne þ̄ wold tell me so moche
moze I wold saye were not so cūnyng
in the mayntēāce of a lye as was the
pylgrymys companyon whyth whan
hys felowe had told at yorke þ̄ he had
seene of late at londō/a byrde that he
uēred all poules chyrch yarde w̄ hys
wyngys: coumyng to the same place
on the moꝝowe sayd that he sawe not
that byrde: but he harde mych speche
therof/ but he saw in Bowles chyrche
yard an egge so greate that .x. menne
could

could scant moue yt wyth leuers/thys
felowe could help it forth wyth a pro-
per syde way/ But he were no good vn-
der proper of a lye that wold mynysh
hys credence wyth asyrmynge all the
fyrst and lettynge a lowder lye therto.
well sayd I thā I haue espied if .x. shuld
tell you so ye wold not beleue thē. No
quod he not if .xx. shuld. what ysantū
I red wold quod I that smed good and
credable. if they were q he ten thousand
they were ~~not~~ of credēce wyth me whan
they shuld tell me that they sawe þ thig
that my self knoweth by nature & reaso
vnpossyble for whan I know it could
not be donne. I knowe well that they
lye all / be they neuer so many that say
they sawe it done. well quod I syth I
se well ye wold not in thys poynt bele-
ue a hole towne / ye haue put me to sy-
lence / that I dare not now be bolde to
tell you that I haue seen yt my selfe.
But surely if wytnes wold haue ser-
uede me I wene I myght haue b:oght
you a grete meny good men that wold
sare and swere to that they haue sene
it thē self. But now we shall I pruide me
to morowe peraduenture a cople of
wytnes of whom I wote well ye wyll
mystruste neyther nother. who be they
quod he for yt were hard to fynde whō
I could better trust thē your self / whō
what soo euer I haue merely sayed I
told not in good fayth but beleue you
in that ye shuld tell me earnestly vppon
your owne knowlege. But ye vse my
master sayeth to loke so sadly / whā ye
meane merely / that many tymes men
dowte whether ye speke in sport whā
ye mene good erneste. In good fayth
quod I / I meane good ernest now / &
yet as well as ye dare trust me I shall
as I sayed yf ye wyll go wyth me pro-
uyde a couple of wytnesse of whom ye

wyll beleue any one better thā twayne
of me / for they be your nerre frendys /
and ye haue bene better acquaynted w
them / and such as I dare say for them
be not ofren wont to lye. who be they
q he I pray you. Mary quod I your
owne twoo eyn / for I shall if you wyll
brynge you where ye shall se it / no fer-
ther hens than euyn here in london.
And as for iron & laten to be so drawē
in lēgth / e shall se it doe in .xx. shopp
almost in one strete. Mary syr quod he
these wytnes in dede wyll not lye / As
t. e pore man sayed by the preste if I
may be so hōly to tell you a mery tale
by the waye. A mery tale quod I cum
myth neuer a mys to me. The pore mā
quod he had found the preste ouer fa-
myl'er wyth hys wyffe / and because
he spake hvt a brode and coude not
proue it the prest sued hym befoze the
bylshoppys offycrall for dyffamacyō /
where the pore man vppō payne of cur-
sng was cōmaunded that in hys pa-
rlysh chyrch he shuld vpon the sonday
at hygh masse tyme stand vp and sare
mou. h thou lyest. whereuppon for ful-
fyllng of hys penaunce vpp was the
pore soule sett in a pew that þ people
myght wonder on hym and here what
he sayed / And ther all a lowd whan he
had reherlyd what he had reportyd by
þ prest / than he sett hys handys on his
mouth / & sayd mouth mouth thou liest.
And by & by theruppon he sett hys hād
vpon both hys euen & sayed / but eyen
eyen quod he by the ma. le ye lye not a
whyte And so syr in dede / & ye bryng
me those wytnes they wyll not lye a
whyte & how be it syr and though thys
be trewe / as in good fayth I beleue &
am sure that it ys / yet am I neuer the
more bounden by reason to beleue thē
þ wolde tell me a miracle. For though
thys

thys thyng be incredyble to hym that hereth it/ and straunge and meruelus to hym that seeth yt / yet is it a thyng that may be done/ But he that telleth me amyracle/ telleth me a thyng that can not be don. I shewed you quod I thys ensaple to put you in mynd that in beyng ouer hard of byleue of thyn- ges that by reason and nature seme a- perye ipossyble/ where they be repottyd by credyble witnes hauing no cause to lye/ther is as much peryll of errour as where uien be to light of credere/ And thus much haue I proued you owarde that if ye beleue no man in such thig as may not be/ than must it folow that ye ought to beleue no man in many thyngys that may be/ for all is oone to you/ whyther they may be or may not be/ yf it seme to you that they may not be. And of truthe ye can not tell whether they may be or may not be/ except they be two such thyngys as imply corradic- tion/as oone selfe thyng in oone selfe parte to be both whyte & blakke. For ellys many thyngys shall seme to you such as all reison wyll refyste/ and natu- re wyll in no wyse admytte / And yet they shall be done well inoughe/ And be in some other place in comen vse & custome. But now bycause /all your myfte standeth i thys that of a myracle tolde you ye may wyth reason byleue that all men lye bycause reaso and na- ture beyng moze to be beluyd than all they/ telleth you that they say wronge in that the thyng reportyd for a myra- cle can not be donne/ I haue shewed you that nature/ and reaso doth shew you y many thyngys may not be don whych yet in dede be done so ferforth y when ye se theym done ye may right well accompte the as miracles for any thyng that reason or nature can shew

fo. riiii.
you by what naturall order and cause yt could be done/ but that ye shall styll se reason stand quyte agaynst yt as in the drawyng of the syluer or iron.

The. vii. chapter.

The Author sheweth that neither nature nor reison do deny the myra- cles to be trew/ nor do not gayn say but y they may be well & easly done.

S He sayth he yet hytte we not the poynt/ for albe it y many thig be well done/ & by nature / whych ney- ther my wytte nor happely no mannys ellys can attayn so nere to natures cou- sell that we can theri pceyue her crafte/ But like as sui rude people/ muse vppō a clokke/ y hath y spryng whych is the cause of hys mouyng se cretly coueyd and closed in the barrell / so marueyle we & wonder on her worke / yet aliway all thole thyngys dyffer and be vnylike to myracles. In that your selfe wyll a- gre with me y whan I beleue y reason and nature techeth me surely that mira- cles be thyngys that can not be done/ I am not i this deceyuyd thogh I may be i such other thig deceyued as seme ipossyble and yet may be done. And therfor as concernyng myracles i which your selfe wyll agre that I am not by a ny mystakyng of reaso and nature de- ceuyed/ ye may not your selfe me thyn- keth say nay/ but y I may well with re- ason beleue theym twayne agaynst all theym that wyll tell me they haue sene such thyngys don as your selfe doth a- gre/ that they twayne that ys to wytte nature and reason dothe verely and trewly shew me can not be don. what maner of thingys be thole q J. Mary myracles quod he such as your selfe wyll agre to be don agaynst nature. Geue vs therof quod I tum esample. As yf me quod he wold now cum tell me

me þat our lady of rounceuaile / there
were a dede chylde restored agayne to
lyffe / lett that quod I be oone / and lett
a nother be þat a bysshop in the byldyng
of hys chyrch fyndyng one beame cutt
a greete dele to shorte for hys worke /
drew it forth betwene a nother man &
hym foure fote (& ye wyll) lenger than
it was and so made it serue / Be yt by
my trouthe q he. wyll we quod I take
for the thyrde / þat a mā was by myracle
in a pater noster whyle / coueyd a myle
off from oone place to a nother. be hit so
quod he. Nowe they that shuld tell me
quod he that they had seene these thre
myracles were I bound to beleue the?
whether ye were bounde quod I o? no /
we shall see ferther after / But now
why shuld ye not of reaso trust them
yf the men be credyble / and earnestly re
porte yt / and peraduenture on there o
thes depose it / hauig no cause to fayne
it no? lykely to lye and be forswornen
for nought. I wyll quod he not beleue
them bycause that nature and reaso
are twoo recordeys moze to be byleued
thā all they that bere wytnesse agaynst
them. why quod I what doth reaso &
nature tell you. They twayne tell me
quod he þat those. iiii. thyngys cā not be
done / whych those men sey they sawe
done. wote you quod I that reaso and
nature tell you so. ye mary quod he þat
I wote well they do / & I thynke youre
self wyll agre that they tell me so. Nay
by saynt Mary syr quod I that wyll
I not. for I thynke that neyther reson
no? nature telleth you so / but rather
both twoo tell you clene the contrary /
that ys to wyte that they both bere wit
nesse that those thre thyngys and such
other lyke be thingys that may be well
and eadly done / ye quod he. mary thys
ys a nother way. The haue we walkid

wrong a whyle yf ye proue that. He
thynketh quod I no thyng moze eadly
to proue than that / for I pray you tell
me quod I do reaso and nature shewe
you that there ys a god o? not? sayth
sheweth me þat surely quod he / but why
ther nature and reaso sheweth me o? no
that I doute / lyth grete reasoned men
and phylosophers haue dowted therof
And some of them playnly perswaded
and in beleue that there was none
at all / and the hole people of the world
in effecte fallen from knowlege o? be
leue of god in to Idolatry & worschype
of mainmottys. Nay quod I there ys
lytle doute I trowe. but that nature &
reason gcueth vs good knowlege that
there is a god. for albe it the gentyls
worschyped among them a thousand
falle goddis / yet all that proueth þat
there was and ys in all mennes heddis a se
crete consent of nature that god there
is o? ellys they wold haue worschyped
noe at all. Now as for þat phylosophers
though a very fewe dowted / and one
o? twayne thought ther was none / yet
as oone swalow maketh not somer so þat
foly of so fewe maketh no chaunge of
the matter agaynst all the hole num
ber of the olde phylosophers. whych as
saynt Poule confessyth found out by
nature and reaso that ther was a god
eyther maker o? gouernour o? both of
all thys hole egynne of the world. The
maruelouse bewtye & constant course
whereof / sheweth well that it neyther
was made no? gouerned by chaunce.
But whan they had by these byslyble
thyngys knowlege of hys inuysyble
magestye / thā dyd they / as we do / fell
from the worschyp of hym to þat worschyp
of Idoles as now do chrysten mē / not
as heretyques lay to þat charge of good
people in doyng reuerence to sayntys
o?

of honour to theym ymagyned. In doynge as
do those heretyks them self / making
our hely / or beneth our hely / or goodys
or our owne blynde affectyon toward
other creatures / or our owne proud af-
fectyon & dotage toward our selfe oute
inamottys & ydollys & very fals godd.
But surely bothe nature & reason wyl
declare & teche vs that a god there ys.
¶ Well q he I wyl not styk in thys lityl
saynte Paule sayth so. ¶ Chan q I yf
reason & nature shewe you p there ys a
god / doth not reson & nature shew you
also p he ys almyghty & maye do what
he wyl. ¶ Yes q he p ys bothe naturall
to hys godhed / & by reason it may well
be perceyvd. ¶ Chan folowyth it sayed
I p reason & nature doth not shew you
p those. iiii. myracles p we were agreed
shuld stand for ensamples / pryncely could
not be done / but they taught you onely
that they coude not be done by nature.
But ye maye as ye now se perceue that
they them self teche p they may be done
by god / syth they teche you p there ys a
god & p he ys almyghty. And therefore
whan ye wyl in no wyse beleue therein
that tell you they haue sene such myra-
cles done / ye refuse not to beleue suche
thyngs as can not be done / but ye mys-
trust causeles the credence and sayth of
honest men in the report of such thyngs
as by hym that they sayde dyd yt / may
well & easily be done.

The. viii. chapyter.

¶ The messenger allegyth that god
may nothyng do agaynst the course
of nature. of whych the autho: decla-
reth p contrary / & ouer that sheweth
that our lord in workyng of myra-
cles doth nothyng agaynst nature..

¶ y q he ye come in dede sun-
what nere me now. But yet
teachyth me p reson & nature

teche me styll p I shall in no wyse be-
leue thys p tell me they haue sene luche
myracles doone. For furthe yf ye wyl
graunt me p they teche me p if they shuld
be done there muste be done by god as
gaynst p course of nature / so is it thā p
resd shewyth me p god hath set all thi-
ngs all redy fro the fyrst creacyon to go
forth in a certayn order & courle / whych
order and courle me shall nature / and
that hath he of hys infynyte wydome
done so well & prouyd that courle to
go forth in such a maner & ralyon p ye
cannot be mendid. And therefore leueth
yt that reason sheweth me that god ne-
uer wyl any thig do agaynst p courle
whych hys hygh wysdome / power / and
goodnes hath made so good p it could
neuer be broken to the better. For yt is
myght / thā had our lord not made hys
order & courle ptyt in the begynnyng.
And therefore dothe as I say reason &
nature yet bere record agaynst theym
p shall say they see luche myracles / syth
god wyl neuer work agaynst p cours
of nature / whych hym self hath all redy
set in so goodly an order that yt were
not possyble to be beter / and the good-
nes of god will make no change to the
works. ¶ Surely q I ye go now verp
far wyse. For nether doth reson proue
you p god (all though it can not other
wyse be / but that any thyng of the ma-
kyng of hys goodnes muste nedys be
good) hath made therefore euery thing
to be of souerayn pfectyon / for than
must euery creature be egall / no / also
p hole worke of hys creacyon / though
yt haue in yt self lutyfeyent and ryght
wonderfull pfectyon / that therefore yt
is wrought to the vtterest poynt of so-
uerayn goodnes p hys almyghty ma-
iestie could haue made yt. For syth he
wrought it not naturall / but willing
ly / he

ly he wrought it not to the betterment
of hys power/ but with sych degrees of
goodnes as his hys pleasure lyked to hys
myt. For els were hys work of as infy-
nyte pfectyon as hym self. And of such
infynyte egall pfectyō was that by god
brought forth nothyng but only þ two
persons of the trynyte/ þ is to wyt þ sonne
& the holy goste. of which two the sonne
was furste by the father begotten/ & af-
ter the holye goste by the father and the
sonne/ after I say i order of beginning
but not in tyme producyd and brought
forth. And in thys hys generacyon and
producyon dyd the doctrs work bothe
wyllyngly & naturally/ & after the bette-
rest partecypon of thein self/ which they
dyd only therin & in none other thyng.
And therfore god myght byke up the
hole worlde yf he wolde & make a beter
by & by. and not onely chaunge in the na-
turall cours of thys worlde iun thyng
to the beter. How be it god in working
of myracles doth nothyng agaynst na-
ture/ but some spereyall benefyte aboue
nature. And he doth not agaynst you
that doth a norther a good roine whych
ye be not able to do. And therfore syth
god may do what he wyl beig almygh-
ty/ and in doyng of myracles he dothe
to the beter/ neyther reson nor nature
shewyth you that they whych saye they
saw such myracles/ do tell you a thyng
þ can not be done/ syth ye haue no rea-
son to proue that god either can not do
yt or wyl not do yt. For syth he cā do it
and yt may be that he wyl do yt/ why
shuld we mistruste good & honest men
that say they saw hym do yt.

The. ix. chapyter.

The author shewyth that albe yt
men may mistruste some of the par-
tyculer myracles/ yet can there no re-
sonable mā neyther deny nor dout/

but that many myracles hath there
bene done and wrought.

¶ Also the quod he & yet as for
myracles I were notte for all
thys boōdē to beleue any. for

I spake neuer yet to any man þ coude
tell me that euer he saw any. ¶ It may
¶ I fortune you to lyue so lōg that ye
shall fynde no mā that was by at your
crystenyng/ nor when ye were bishop-
ped neyther. ¶ Mary ¶ he for oughte
I wor I haue lyued so longe all redy.
¶ Why dout we not than ¶ I whyther
ye were euer crystenyd or not. ¶ For
every man quod he presumpth & bele-
ueth that I am crystenyd/ as a thyng so
comenly done/ that we reken our selfe
sure þ no man leuyth yt badone. ¶ If
the comen presumpcyon quod I suffy-
cyently serue you to set your mynd in
surete/ than albest myracles be nothig
comenly & custonably done/ nor that
no presumpcyon can sufficiently serue
for þ proue of thys myracle or that/ yet
hath there euer from the begynnyng
of the worlde in every nacyon crysten
bethen/ and almost every town at som
dyt tyme so many myracles and mas-
uayls bene wrought besyde the comen
cours of nature/ that I thynk thow
þ worlde yt is as well beleuyd vniuers-
sally that miracles and maruayls thes
be/ as any thyng ys beleuyd that men
loke vppon. So that if comen presump-
cyō serue you/ ye may as I sayd as wel
beleue that myracles be done/ as that
your selfe was euer crystenyd. For I
dare well say that there ar a thousand
þ beleue ther hath bene myracles dōe/
agaynst one that beleuyth that ye wer
euer crystenyd/ or euer wytt whethere
ye were borne or nat. ¶ For þ doctours
of crystys chyrch dyd neuer mistrust
þ wonders & maruayls that the

myracles

nymes telle and wyte too haue beene done by theyr false goddis/ but assygneth them to haue ben done by the deuyl chozow godde sufferance for thyluluyon of them that with idolatry had deserued to be deluded. And whyther they be myracles by whiche name we comenly call the wonders wrought by god or merueyles done by the deuyl it foyleth not for thys purpose of ours.

For yf ye graunt that the deuyl may do any by goddis sufferance/ ye can not say nay but god may much more easily do hym self. And luf ye be a christen mā and receyue scripture I might i this matter quod I haue choked you long a go/ wyth the manyfold myracles and meruailles y be shewed there.

The .x. chapter.

Chauthor prouyth y many thigf dayly don by nature or craft wherof we nothyng merueyle at all / le more meruelous and more woderfull in orde than be the myracles y we mooste marueyle of and repute most incredible.

As quod he suerly though it

A hath doore me good to here what ye wold say/ yet I ne-

ther dout nor I suppose no good man ellys/ but that god hath besyde the comen course of nature wrought many myracles. But yet of those that men tell of / as done in our tyme / by whiche ye wold it shuld seme that it were well prouyd that the prayng to sayntys / go yng on pylgrymagys / a wooshypppyng of ymagys were well and sufficiently prouyd / all though there were none other profe theruppō / of these myracles dyd I mene / in the report of whiche me thynketh I neede not beleue a comen fame of thys myracle and that begon by sum self wounā sekig saynt Sythe

whē the syghyth for myscastynge of her kays. Of these myracles I speke / a all such as men say now adays be done at dyuers pylgrymagy by dyuers sayntes or dyuers ymagys / in whiche me thynketh y such as be told to be don whiche nature and reson sayth be impossible / I may well mistrust y tellers. And this how many of the shall make me a sufficient profe of an impossible mater? One or two or thre eyther seimyth me to few to trust theyr credence in a thig so incredible. And if I shall not beleue they in tyll I fynde many recordys / I wene I were sayne to wander y world about or I prouyd many myracles sufficiently / of such I say as ye prouye out pylgrymagys by. Your few wordys y I haue wrappyd in them many thigys that seme somewhat as they be couched to geder. which when we se them vnfoldyd and consyder ech part a consyder / than may we better examyn the in a better se wherof they serue. Furthe ye speke of sekig to sayntys for sleight causys. as for y losse or myse of kyttis kays. Than ye wolde wyt how many ye must here say they saw a myracle or ye shuld of reason beleue yt. Thysoly ye thynk ye were lyke to go long or ye shuld fynde any prouyd crew. Finally whan ye say that ye meane onely those myracles that men tell of / as doone at pylgrymagys / ye seme to put styll a differens betwene those myracles wrought in pylgrymagy a such as are wrought by god otherwyle / The cause wherof I must ferther aske you after. For I perceyue not well what ye meane by y / But fyrst where as ye speke styll as though ye myght mistrust the were they neuer so many: because they tell you a thying that reason a nature sayeth is impossible / me thynketh y ye shuld
now

now chaunge that worde. For I haue
all redy/ puyd that reaso & nature say
not that a myracle ys ipossible. but on-
ly that it is ipossyble to nature. And
they cofesse both that myracles be pos-
sible to god. and they that report them
do report them for such. And therfore
they do report you none ipossible tale.
For the clerer cōsideracion wherof/ let
vs resoert to þ miracles which we were
agreed shuld stand for examples/ And
first yf men shuld tell you þ they sawe
before an ymage/ of the crucifix a dede
man raylid to lyfe/ ye wold much mer-
uayle therof/ and so myght ye well. yet
could I tell you sumwhat that I haue
seen my selfe that me thynketh as gret
a meruayle / but I haue no lyst to tell
you because that ye be so circumspect
and ware in beleue of any myracles/ þ
ye wold not beleue yt for me but mys-
trust me for it. Nay sir quod he i good
sayth/ yf a thig seemed me neuer so farr
vnykly/ yet yf ye wolde ernystly say þ
your selfe haue seen yt/ I neyther wold
noz could mistrust yt. well quod I thā
ye make me the bolder to tel you. And
yet wyll I tell you nothing/ but that I
wold yf nede were find you good wit-
nes to proue it. It shall not nede syr q
he/ but I besech you let me here it. For
soth quod I because we speke of a mā
raylid from deth to lyfe. There was i
the parish of saynt steuens i walbrok
in lōdō where I dwellid before I came
to chelsyth / a mā and a woman which
at yet quyk and quethynge and yonge
were they both. The eldyt I am sure
passyd not. xiiii. It happed them as
doth among yong folke/ þ tone to cast
a mynd to the tother. And after many
lettis/ for þ maydēs mother was mich
agaynst yt/ at last they came to gether
and were maryed in saynt Stephens

chirch which is not gretly famous for
any myracles/ but yet yerey on saynt
steuyn day it is somwhat sought vnto/ &
vysyted with folkis deuociō. But now
short tale to make/ thys yong woman
as the maner is in brydis ye wote well
was at nyght brought to bed with ho-
nest womē. And than after that went
the bryde grome to bed. And euery bo-
dy wēt theyr wayes & left them twayn
there alone. And that same nyght/ yet
abide let me not lye. now i faith to say
the trouth I am not very sure of the
tyme/ but suerly as it aperid after ward
yt was of lyklyhod þ same nyght or sū
other tyme sone after except yt happe-
ned a lytle afore. No force for the tyme
quod he. Troth quod I/ and as for the
matter all the partye wyll testefye for
trewth the woman was knowen for so
honest. But for the conclusion the seed
of them twayn/ turned in the womans
body/ first into bloode / and after into
shape of man chylde. And than wared
quyk and she gret therwith. And was
within þ yere delyuered of a fayr boy/
and forsoth yt was not than (for I saw
ye my selfe) passing the lenght of a fote.
And I am sure he is growen now an
ynch lenger than I. How long ys yt a
goo quod he. By my sayth q I/ about
xxi. yeres. Tuth quod he this is a wor-
thy myracle. In good faith quod I/ ne-
uer wyll I that any mā could tell that
he had any other begynnyng. And me-
thynketh that thys ys as gret a myra-
cle as the reysyng of a dede man. ¶ Af-
yt seime so q he to you/ than haue you
a maruelouse semynge/ for I wene yt
semyth so to no man els. ¶ No quod I
cā ye tell what is þ cause? No one other
surely but that the acquayntaūce and
dayly beholdyng takyth away the wō-
derynge/ as we nothyng wonder at the
ebbyng

ebbyng and flowyng of the see / or the
 tides by cause we dayly se it. But he
 that had neuer scene it no: hard therof
 wolde at the fyrste syght wonder soze
 that at to se that great water cum wa-
 lowyng vp agaynst the wynde keping
 a comen courie to and fro / no cause pe-
 seyued þ̄ dry ueth hym. If a mā bozne
 bynde had todeily hys syght what wou-
 der wold he make to see the sonne the
 mone / and the starres / where as one þ̄
 hath the sene them lytene yere to gether
 maruayllych not so moche of the all / as
 he wolde wonder at the fyrst syght of a
 peccokys taylor. And be yij cause can
 I se none / why we shulde of reaso moze
 maruayle of þ̄ reuuyng of a dede mā
 than of the bydyng / byngyng forthe
 and growyng of a chyld vnto þ̄ state
 of a man. For moze meruelouse ys a
 kokk thā a cokk / though þ̄ tone be sene
 but in lomer and the tother all þ̄ yere.
 And I am sure yf ye sawe dede mē as
 comenly called a gayne by myracle / as
 ye se men brought forth by nature / ye
 wolde reke yt leise maruayle to byng
 the soule agayne into the body / kepig
 yet tyll hys shappe and hys organys
 not moche pereshyd / thā of a lytle seede
 to make all that gere new / and make a
 newe soule therio. Now yf ye neuer
 had sene any gonne in youre days no:
 herd of any befoze / yf .ii. men shuld tell
 you the tone that he had wylt a mā in
 a pater noster while conueyd & carped
 a myle of from one place to a nother by
 myracle / & þ̄ tother shulde tell you þ̄ he
 had sene a stone moze than a mannys
 weyght carped moze than a myle in as
 lyttyll space by craft / whych of these
 wolde you by your saythe take for the
 moze incredyble? Surely q̄ he both
 wayne were very strange. But yet I
 could not chese but thynke yt were ra-

fo. xviij.

ther trewe þ̄ god dyd þ̄ tone / than that
 any craft of mā coulde do the tother.
 Well quod I let vs than to oure thryde
 ensample. If it were shewed you that
 saynt Erkenwalde or hys h̄ster drew
 out a pece of tiber þ̄ was cut to shorie
 for the rose i makyng tarkyng abbey /
 shulde thys be so incredyble to you to
 beleue that they drew in lenght a pece
 of wood by þ̄ power and helpe of god
 dys h̄ad / whā we se dayly a grete pece
 of syluer brasse / laten or iten drawen a
 lenght ito smale wyer / as woderfully
 by mannys hand

The .xi. chapter

The author shewyth that a myra-
 cle is not to be mystruystyd though yt
 be done in a small mater and semith
 vppon a sleight occasyon.

¶ Dw though ye wold parad-
 uenture as ye seme to do / re-
 ben thys cause very sleight
 for god to shew sych an hygh myracle /
 syth there myght haue bene about my-
 racle a lenger pece of tumber gotten / &
 so ye wold happely mystruyst yt for the
 slender occasyon / resembling yt to the
 myscastynge of some good huswrys
 kays / god hath I wene so much wyt of
 hym selfe / þ̄ he nedyth not our aduyce
 to efozme hym what thyng were suffy-
 cyent occasyon to worke hys wonders
 for. But & if ye rede in þ̄ bokys of Cal-
 syan / saynte Gregoꝝ / saynt Austyne /
 saynt Hieron / & many other holy ver-
 tuous men / ye shall (excepte ye beleue
 the not) lerne & know that god hath for
 hys saruantys don many a gret myra-
 cle in very small maters. And so mych
 þ̄ moze ar we boundē to hys goodnes
 in þ̄ he vouchesaupth so famylyerly in
 smal thig to shew vs so gret a tokē of
 his mighty godhed. & no reaso wer it to
 wōdꝝ at his thā a honoꝝ because of his
 D. samplier

familyer goodnes. And yf ye parauē-
ture wold not beleue they: wrytyng /
go to Cryst. gospel & loke on hys fyrst
myracle whether he myght not haue p
uydyd for wine without miracle. But
such was his pleasure in a small mater
to do a grete myracle for sum shew of
hys godhed amōg them whō he vouch-
safyd / where on the tother syde afore
Herode that wold sayn haue sene sum
myracle where yt stode vppon his lyfe
& myght haue delueryd hym from the
iewes / yet wolde he not vouchsafe ey-
ther to shew the proud curyouse kyng
one myracle / or speke one word. So y
tymys placys & occasyons / reason is y
we suffer to rest in hys arbyterment. &
not loke to prescrybe & appoynt at our
pleasure / and ellys blaspheme theym &
say we wyll not beleue them.

The. xii. chapiter.

The autho: sheweth what notythy the
froward myndys of many folk that
wold be very hard to beleue a man
in a myracle vppon his othe / & very
light in a shewd tale to beleue a wo-
man on her word.

Now where ye requyre how
many witnes shuld be requi-
site and suffice to make you
thynk your self in reson to haue good
cause to beleue so strange a thyng / me-
thynkyth y ryght few were suffycient
of them that wold say they saw a grete
good thyng done by the power & good-
nes of god. except it be harde for vs to
beleue cyther that god ys so myghty y
he may do it or so good y he wold do it
But because ye wold wit of me how
many recordys were requysyte / y thig
standyth not so much in nomber as in
weyght. Some twayn be moze credy-
ble than sum. x. And albe yt y I se not
greatly why I shuld mistrust any one

that semith honest & tellith a good tale
of god in whych there apperyth no spe-
cyall cause of lyeng / yet yf any wytnes
wyll serue you / thā wold I wyt of you
how many your self wold agre. For I
now put case y there cam. x. dyuers ho-
nest men of good substaunce out of. x.
dyuers partyes of the realme / eche off
them wyth an offering at onc pylgry-
mage / as for ensample at our Lady of
Ipswyth / & ech one of them assyuring
vppon they: othe a myracle don vppo
them self in sum grete sodayn help wel
apperyng to passe the power of crafte
or nature / wold ye not beleue y amōg
them all at the lestwyle twayn of those
.x. sayd trew: **N**o by oure lady q he
not & they were. x. and. x. **W**hy lo q
I. **M**ary quod he for wer they neuer
so many hauyng none other wytnesse
but eche inan tellyng hys tale for hym
selfe / they be but syngle all & lesse than
syngle. for euery myracle hath but one
recozd / and yet he not credable in hys
owne cause. & so neuer a myracle well
puyd. **W**ell sayd I / I lyke well your
wyl dome y ye be so cyrcumspect that
ye wyll nothyng beleue without good
suffycient & full profe. I put you than
quod I a nother case that. x. yong wo-
me not very specially known for good
but takē out at auēture / dwellyng all
in one towne / wold report & tell that a
frere of good fame heryng they: con-
fessyons at a pardon / wold haue geue
them in penaunce to let hym lye wyth
them / on youre fayth wolde ye not be-
leue y among so many sum of the said
trew: yes y I wold quod he by y mary
mas beleue they said trew all. x. & durst
well swere for them & they were but. ii.
whi lo q I they be as sigle witnes as y
other of whō I told you before. for nōe
of the cā tell what was sayd to ā other
and

& yet they be vnsworn also / & therewith
 be they but womē whych be more light
 & lesse to be regar dyd / dwellyng all in
 one towne also / & therby myght they þ
 more easely conspyre a false tale. They
 be q he wytnes good ynogh for such a
 mater / the thyng ys so lykely of yt selfe
 that a freer wybe womanysh loke the
 holy hoze son neuer so sayntly. Ye de
 ny not q I but god may as easily do a
 good turn by myracle as any in a way
 do an yuell by nature. That is trew q
 he & he lyt. well quod I se now what a
 good way ye be in / þ ar of your owne
 good godly mīde more redy to belcūe
 ii. siple womē þ a man wyll do noght /
 than .x. or .xx. men þ god wyll do good

The. xlii. chapter.

Chauthor sheweth þ vntowarde
 mid of many mē / which in miracles
 so hely touchyng þ honoz of god &
 wele of theyz owne soulys / wyll ney-
 ther beleue other folk þ tell thē / nor
 thē self vouchsafe to go proue thē.

But syth þ thys kynde of profe
 wyll not luffye you / I dare say
 if ye wold seke & enquire / ye shuld fide
 many done in your days in þ p̄sence
 of mych peple. wher shuld I se þ q he
 ye myght q I vppō good frīday euery
 yere this. ii. C. yere till win this. v. yere
 þ the turkys haue take the town / haue
 sene one of þ thornys þ was in Cryst
 ciown / bud & byng forth flowrys in þ
 seruyse tyme / if ye wold haue gon to þ
 Rodys: So far q he: nay yet had I le
 uer haue goddys blessing to beleue þ
 I se not / than go so far therfore. I am
 well apayd q I therof. for yt ye had le
 uer beleue than take the payn of a lōg
 pylgrymage / ye will neuer be so styf in
 any opynyon þ ye wyll put your self in
 icept þ for p̄ynacy & stoborne stādnyng
 by your parte. No mary q he I warāt

you I will neuer be so mad to hold till
 it war to hote. For I haue such a fond
 fanly of myne owne þ I had leuer shy-
 uer & shake for cold in þ myddys of lo-
 mer / than be burnyd i þ mydd of win-
 ter. Merely sayd q I. but yet in earnest
 wher such a solenne yere myracle is
 wrought so wōderly in the face of the
 world before so gret a multytude / it is
 a gret vntowardnes in a thig so hely
 touchyng þ honoz of god & helth of our
 own ioule / both to mistrust all thē þ sey
 they haue sene it / & eyther of slouth or
 incredulyte not vouchsafe hym self to
 proue it. If I shuld haue gon quod he
 & found it a ly / thā had I waikyd a wyle
 iorney. & o þ tother side if I shuld haue
 sene ther such a thing my self / yet coud
 I scantly rekē my selfe sure. No q I þ
 were a strange case. Not very strange
 q he. For where ye speke of myacles
 done before a multytude / a man may
 be dysseyuyd therin ryghte well.

The. xliii. chapter

The messēger maryth obieccyð þ
 myacles shewed byfoze a multitude
 may be sayned / & by þ authoz shewd
 how þ goodnes of god bygyth short-
 ly þ truth of such falschē to lyght / w
 esāples therof one or two reherled. &
 farther shewd that many myacles
 there be whych no good crysten man
 may deny to be trew.

Sone preste to byng bp a pyl-
 grymage in hys pythe may de-
 uise sū false felowe saynyng hym self
 to com seke a saynt in his chyrch / And
 there sodenly saye that he hath gotten
 hys syghte. Then shall ye haue the
 bellys rongē for a myracle / And þ fōd
 folke of the countre soone made soles.
 Chan women cōming thether w̄ their
 cādells. & the petlō byng of sum lame
 begger. iii. or. iiii. payre of theyre olde

crutches w. xli. pennies spent i me & wo
me of wex thrust thorow drucers plac
some w arrows / & su w rusty knyves
wyl make hys offeryngys for one. vii.
yere worth twyse hys tythes. Thys ys
q I very truth that such thyngys may
be & suffice to be i dede. As I remēber
me that I have hard my father tell of
a begger p in kynge Edwardes dayes
p fourth cam wyth hys wyffe to saynt
Albonys. And there was walkyng a
boute the towne beggyng a fyue or six
dayes before p kyng comyng thither
sayng p he was borne blynde / & neuer
sawe in hys lyfe. And was warned in
hys dreame p he shuld co oute of Ber-
wyke where he sayed he had euer dwel
led to see saynte albō. And p he hade
bene at hys shryne and had not been
holpen. And therfore he wold go see
hi at some other place / so he had hard
some say synne he cā p saynt albonys
body shuld be at Colon. And in dede
such a cōtēcyō hath ther beene. But of
trouth as I am surly iformed he lyeth
here at saynt albonys / sayng some re-
lyques of hym whych they there shew
shryned. But to tell you forth whā the
kyng was cūmē & p towne full / sodayn-
ly thys blynde man at saynt Albonys
shryne had hys syght agayne / And a
myracle solemply rongē / and Te deū
songen / so that nothyng was talked of
in all the towne but thys myracle. So
happened it than that duke hūfrey of
gloucester a great wise mā & very well
lerned / hauyng greate Joy to se such
a myracle / called p poze mā vnto hym
And fyrst shewyng hym selfe iorouse
of goddys glozy so shewed i p gettyng
of hys syght / & exortyng hym to meke-
nes & to none ascrybyng of any parte
p worshyp to hym self / nor to be proud
of the peoples prayse whych wolde call

hym a good & a godly man therby. At
last he loked well vppon hys even and
asked whyther he could neuer se nothig
at all in all hys lyfe before. And whan
as well hys wyfe as hym self affermed
fastely no / than he loked aduysedly vp
pō hys eyen agayne / & sayed I beleue
you very well / for me thynketh p ye cā
not see well yet. yes syz q he I thank
god & hys holy marter I can se now as
well as any man. ye cā quod the duke /
what colour is my gowne. Thā and p
begger told hi. what color q he is thys
māys gowne / he told hi also. & so furth
wythoure any stykkyng / he told hym
the names of all the colours that could
be shewed hym. And whē my lord saw
that / he bad hym walk saytoure / And
made hym be sett openly in p stokkys.
For though he could haue seen soodely
by myracle p dyfference bytwene dy-
uerse colors / yet could he not by p sight
so sodenly tell p names of all thees co-
lours but yf he had knowen the before
nomore thā p names of all p men that
he shulde soodely se. Lo therfore I saye
quod youre frende who may be iure of
such thyngys whan such pageantys be
played before all p towne. I remēber
me now what a worke I haue hard of
that was at lempster i p kyngs fathers
dayes where p pryvour brought p reuylly
a straū ze wēche ito p chyrch p sayd she
was sent thither by god / & wold not ly
oute of p chyrch / And aftere she was
gratid w i rē grat above i p rood loft
where it was byleued p she liued wout
any mete or drynke oly by āgels fode.
And dyuers tymes she was houseled
i syght of p people w ā holte vncōse-
crate / & all p peple lokig vpo / ther was
w a small here p cōueyd p hoste from p
patē of p chalyce out of p pryours hā-
dē ito her mouth as thogh it cā alone /
so p

so that all the people not of the towne
only/ but allo of þ contrey about/ toke
her for a very quyk saynte / and dayly
soughte so thys to se her / that many þ
coud not come nere to her cryed owte
alowd/ holy mayden Elizabeth helpe
me. and were sayn to thow they offe-
rig ouer they felows hedde for þe.
How lay the þyour wyth holy mayde
Elizabeth nyghtly in the roode losse /
till she was after taken out & tryed in
the keepyng of my lady the kyngys mo-
ther. And by the longynge for mete w
boydaunce of that she had etyn which
had no sayntly sauour/ she was parcey-
uyd for no saynte and confellyd all the
mater. In saynt. v It had bene gret
aloues þ þyour & she had bene burnyd
to gether at one stake. what cam of the
þyour. Quod he that ca I not tell /
But I weene he was put to suche po-
nishment as the poze nunne was/ that
had gyuen her in penaunce to say this
verle. Miserere mei deus / quoniam
conculcauit me homo. w a grette thre-
te that and she dyd so any moze she shuld
say þ hole psalme. But as for holy may-
den Elizabeth I harde say she luyd &
faryd well/ & was a comē harlot at Ca-
lyce many a fayre day after/ where she
laughed at the mater full merely. The
moze pyte q I that she was so let pas.
That ys trouth quod he. But now
what say you what trust can we haue/
or at lest way what suerte can we haue
in such thyngys whan we se the saynt
so shamfully in the face of the world/ &
so mych people abusyd so far/ that they
wold not haue leddy to swere/ & some
to leopard they luyys theron/ that all
this work was wrought by goddys had
till the troth cam to lyght/ and þ drab
dryuen out of the chyrch in the dyspuls
name. Merely sayd I there was abu-

fo. xix.
syon in the tone syde/ & grette folly in þ
rother syde. And as þ noble duke Hu-
frey wysely found out the falsshed of þ
blyson begger/ so dyd that noble lady
the kyngys mother prudently decypher
& founde out that bestely fyth. And so
say the trouth there was cause inough
in both these partyes wherof the peple
myght reisonably gather so mych suspt
cyon/ þ yf they had made theruppō suf-
feyent inquisycion & serch/ they coud
neuer haue beene so farre abusyd. For
both myght they well mystruste a beg-
gers worde whom they had but newly
known & well lykly to ly for to wyne
furst sauour & after money / And also
men might well thynk that a yong she
saynte was not metely to be shynyd
quyk in a monastery among a myny
of monays. And yet in conclusyon be-
cause no such saynt wondrous shulde
efame godde very myracles/ his good-
nes shortly brought them both to know-
lege. And so doth hys espyrall cure &
prouydence byng euer shortlye suche
falsshed and faytery to lyghte to theyre
shame and confusyon. And as he dyd
in Berna a gret cyte in Almayne bring
to knowlege þ fals myracles / wherby
certayne frerys abusyd the people/ for
whych they were openly burnyd. And
so god alway byngyth such fals myra-
cles to lyght. May nay q he there be
many such I warrant you þ neuer cū
to light/ & ar styll taken for very good
ye cannot very well warant yt q I.
For syth god brought to lyghte þ false
saynt myracle of þ prest of the ydoll
Bell in þ old tyme/ as apperyth in the
xiii. chapter of þ prophet Danuell / yt
is moze likly þ amōg crystē mē he wyl
suffer no suche thyngys longe lye hyd.
And also howe can ye warraunte that
many of those myracles be false.

For whyle ther is no dowte but many
be trew / and ye knowe not eny which
ye precysely knowe for false / ye be not
sure whyther eny be such or not. Mary
quod he þe reaso holdeth as well on the
tother side. For syth I knowe not any
whyth I precysely knowe for trewe / I
know not whither eny be trew or not.
Mary quod I that arguement wyll not
serue you so. For though no mā bidith
you to beleue þe euery thyng ys trewe
þe ys told for a myracle / yet sū there be
of whych ye must nedys reke your selfe
sure / and of whych ye can not yf ye be a
chryste mā haue any scruple or dowte.
ye quod he : I sayne wold I wit whych
were one of those. Mary quod I all þe
are wrytten in the gospel. Mary quod
he that wote I well / but them we speke
not of / for they were done by god hym
selfe. why q I be they not so all. If ye
wyll not agre þe ye be not sure of any
which be told by saynt / what saye you
by the myracles of thapostels wrytten
by saynt luke. Mary q he ye mysse take
me yet / for I do not mean eny mistrust
in the myracles do of old tyme by god
for hys appostellys or holy matters in
coraboracyon and settyng forth of the
fayth. I mene oly these myracles that
men tell and talke of nowe a dayes / to
be don at those Imagys where these
pylgrymagys be / and where we see sū
of them our selfe proued playnly false /
And yet told for so trew / and so many
false shrewes affyrme it / so many siple
soules trust it / so mych folysh folke be
lyue it / that a mā may well with reaso
mistrust all þe remnant. Weryly quod
I and yet I thynke that cryste amōge
chryste people suffreth not such thigys
to happē ofte / nor such delusō to last
long / but shortly (to theyre shame as
yt hath appered in some) doth vtter &

make open theyre falsched as hym selfe
sayed of all such. That ye whysper one
in an others ere shalbe preched oute a
lowd vppon the rygge of þe house rose.

The. xv. chapter

The autho sheweth þe yt of those
miracles that are told and wrytten
to be done at dyuers pylgrymagys
& cōmyonly beleuyd for very trewe /
we certeynly knewe some falsly say-
ned / yet were that no cause to mys-
trust the remnaunt.

But be yt þe amonge so many my-
racles as be dayly told & wrytē
do at diuers pilgrimagys / betwē which
myracles and othe why ye put a defe-
rence we shall as I sayd before knowe
ferther your mid hereafter / And be it
also that of such as long haue be repu-
ted and styll taken for trew / your selfe
vndoutedly knewe sum for very false /
wold ye therfore thynk that among all
þe remnaunt ther were neuer one trew /
what if ye fynd som fayre womā payn-
ted whole colour ye had went wē na-
turall / wyll ye neuer after beleue that
any woman in the worlde hath a fayre
colour of her selfe : If ye fynd som fals
flatterers that long scined credly wyll
ye take euer after all þe world for suche :
If some proue starke ipochrytes whō
the world wold haue sworn for good &
godly mē / shall we therfore mistruste
all other for theyr sake and wene there
wer none good at all : By my troth q
he I rode ons i good cōpany / & to say
þe troth for good cōpany to walsynghā
in pylgrimage / where a good felows
hors so fell in haltynge þe he was sayne
to hyer a nother and let hym goo lose /
whyth was so lene and so poze and hall-
ted so soze þe empty as he was he could
scant kepe forc with vs. And when we
had went we shuld haue left hi behide /
sodenly

sodenly he spyed a mare / and forth he
lymped on thre legges so lustely / that
hys masters hoys wyth foure fete could
scarre ouer take hi. But whā he caught
hym & cam agayne / he sware in grete
anger all the othys he myght swere &
he wold trust haltynge syr Thomas the
woyse whyle he lyued. what was that
haltig syr thomas quod J. Mary q he
theyr partye preste as he told us / as
lene and as poze and as haltynge as
hys hoise / and as holy to. But syn he
wold whyle he lyued mystrust & haltig
preste for hys haltig hoise / yf I fynde
an holy hoise son halte in ypochryse / I
shall not saye while I lyue to trust all
hys felowes the woise. well quod I re
speke merely but I wot well ye wyll
do better what so euer ye lay. Noz I a
sure though ye se sum whyte sayre o
byrall soo well counterfete / and so set
in a ryng & a ryght goode iuelier wyll
take it for a dyemound / yet wyl ye not
dowt for all y but y there be in many o
ther ryngs all redy set right diamount
in dede. Noz ye wyll not mystrust saic
Peter for iudas. Noz though the iues
were many so noughty that they put
chryst to deeth / yet ye be wyser I wote
well than the geryll womā was / whych
in talkyng ones wyth my father when
she harde saye & our lady was a iewe /
fyrst could not beleue it / but sayd what
ye mok I wyll I pray you tell trouth.
And when it was so fully affermede y
she at last beleued it / & was she a Jewe
quod she so helpe me god and halydō
I shall loue her & woise whyle I lyue.
I a sure ye wyll not do so / nor mistrust
all for some neyther men noz myracles

The. xvi. chapiter

Chauthor sheweth that who soo
wold enquire shuld sone fynd that
at pylgrymagys bene dayly many

fo. rr.

gret & vndowted myracles wrought
and well knowen. And specially he
speketh of the great & open myracle
shewed at our lady of Jppyl wyche
of late vpon the doughter of Syr
Roger wentworth the knyghte.

And as for y porne y we spake
of concernyng myracles done
in our dayes at diuerse imagys where
these pylgrymagys be / yet could I tell
you some such done so openly / so farre
from all cause of suspicyō / and therto
testyfied in such susteynt wyse / that
he myght seme allmost madde & herig
y hole mater will mystrust y myracles.
Amonge whych I durste boldely tell
you for one the wōderfull work of god
that was don thele few yeres wrought
in the house of a ryghte worshipfull
knyght syr Roger wentworth vpon
dyuerse of hys chyltē / and specially
one of hys doughters a very fayr yōge
gentyll woman of. xii. yeres of age in
maruelouse maner beryd & turneyd
by our gostely enemy the deuyll / her
mynd alienated & rauyng w dyspyng
and blasphemie of god / and hated
of all halowed thyngs / wyth knowleg
and perseuyng of the halowed from
the vnhalowed / all were she nothyng
warned therof. And after that moued
in her owne mynde and moued by
the wyll of god to go to oure ladye of
Jppyl wyche. In the waye of whyche
pylgrimage she prophelyed and tolde
many thyngs done and sayed at the
same tyme i other placys whyche were
proued trew / and many thyngs sayed
lyyng in her traunce of such wysdom
and lernyng that ryght connyng men
hyghly marueyled to here of so yong
an vnlernde mayden whan her selfe
wyll not what she sayde / such thyngs
vttred and spoken as well lerne men
myghte

myght haue mysted wyth a lōge study.
and fynally beyng brought and layed
before the ymage of our blessed lady/
as there i þ syght of many worshyp-
full people so greuoulye turmentede/
and in face eyene loke & countenaūce
so grysely chaunged wyth her mouth
drawen asyde/and her eyene leyd oute
bypon her chekys þ yt was a terryble
syght to behold. And after many mar-
uelouse thyngys at þ sãe tyme shewed
bypon dyuers parllones by the deuyl
thorow goddys sufferauce/as well all
the remnant as the mayden her self in
the presence of all the cūpany restored
to theyre goode state perfytely cured &
lodely. And i thys matter no preterte
of beggynng/no suspicyō of faynyng/
no possyblyte of counterfettyng/no
simplenelle i the seers/her father and
mother ryght honorable and ryche soze
abashed to se such chaunces in theyre
chylterne/ the wytnes/ grete nobler/
and many of grete worshyp/wyldome
and good expertyce/the mayd her self
to yong to fayne/and þ falsyon it self
to straunge for any man to fayne/ And
the ende of the matter vertuouse/the
byrgyne so mouyd i her mynde w the
myracle/that she forthwyth for ought
her father could do/ forsoke the world
and professed relygyon in a very good
and godly cūpanye at the mynorette
where she hath lyued well & graciously
euer syns.

The. xvi. chapter

The messenger laythe forth obie-
cyons agaynst myracles dōe at pyl-
grymagys / of whych he confessyth
many to be trew. but he layth causes
and reasōs wherby he seyth þ many
men be moued to beleue and thynk
that those myracles þ be don there
be dōe by þ deuyl to sett our hartt

bypon ydolatry by þ worshyppynge
of ymagys in stede of god.

But nowe albe yt as I sayed þ
I myght allege you thys myra-
cle and proue yt you in such wyse that
I wot well ye wold be as far owt of
all dowte therof as ye wold be depe in
the maruayle of the myracle/ And per-
aduētūre dyuerse other could I shewe
you done of late at dyuerse pylgryma-
gys/and proue them well to/ yet wold
I sayn fyrst here of you/ what dys-
cryn and dyfferēce ys þ that ye make /
and wherfoze ye make it bitwene þ my-
racles don of olde tyme/and these that
be now adayes don at these pylgryma-
gys. Syr quod he sum what a lytle I
towched yt in the begynnyng & made
in maner a glaunce therat. But loth
wer I to hvt yt wyth a full shot and a
sharpe as I haue sene sum wyth suche
reasōns cleue the pryke in twayne / þ
they semyd to bere ouer the but. And
all-whyche reasōns I wolde be loth in
so soze maner to allege / lest I myght
happely gyue you sū occasyō to thynk
that eyther I let to sum what of myne
owne / or elles at the leste wyse lyked
well that syde and wer a fauorer of þ
factyō. Nay nay quod I fere not that
hardely/for neyther a I so suspicyouse
to mystrust that one thynkyth euyl be
cause he defēdeth the worse parte well
by way of argumente and reasonyng/
And also I truste that all theyr shott
shalbe so far to feble to bere ouer þ but
that few of them shall towche þ mark/
many to saynt to perce the paper/ And
sum to hygh/and sum to shorte / And
some walk to wyde of þ but by a bow.
And therfoze I requyre you spare not
to byng forth all þ euer ye haue harde
for that ye thynke may be sayde in the
mater. Syr quod he syth ye can here
yt so

yt so indifferently / I shall not spare to
speke it. And suerly to begynne I will
I thynk trew I will not fayle to con-
fesse. For albe yt that I haue long stry-
ked wyth you to withstand any cre-
dence to be geue to myracles do now
adaye in whych I haue moche p leget
stryked bycause of sum whom I haue
knowe ere thys so farre from y beleue
of any myracles at all / y in good scyth
they put me half i doubt whether they
beleue that there wer god at all / if they
durst for drede & shame haue sayd all y
they lemed to thynk / yet to laye the
truth I neuer hard any thyng sayd so
soze therin y euer moued me to thynk
y any reason wold bere the impo-
tunc mistrust of them / that amog so many
a open myracle as ys dayly in dyuers
placys doon / wolde wene that none at
all wer trew. But verily as I begone
a lytell to touche in the begynnyng
whether these myracles be made by
god & for good sayntys or by y deuyl
for oure deceyt and deluyon / albe yt I
beleue & euer will as the chyrch doth /
yet sum men among sum such thyngs
say therin that I am dryue to doo as
I do in other articlys of the fayth / iene
fast vnto belefe for any reason that I
fynde to make them aswere wyth. For
first they take for a groude y the deuill
may do myracles / Or yf we lyst not to
suffer the callyd by y name / the mater
shalbe therby nothyng amedded. for yf
we will haue only called by the name
of myracles thyngys by god do aboue
nature / yet will we not deny but that
god sufferethe y deuyl to worke won-
ders whych the people ca not dyscerne
from myracles. And therfore whe they
se them / myracles shall they call them /
and for myracles shall they take them.
Now lyth yt so is that the deuyl may

do suche thyngys / whereby shall we be
sure that god doth them. And lyth the
dyuyl may do them / & we be not sure
that god doth them / why may not we
aswell beleue that y dyuyl doth them
Mary sayd I ye told me that ye seie
nought by Logyk / but now ye play the
Logycien out ryghte. Now be yt that
argument men may tozme o the tother
lyde & saye / that lyth god may do them
mych beter than the dyuyl / and we be
not sure that the dyuyl doth the / why
shulde we not rather beleue that god
doth them / whych may do them beter.
And myche more reason yt ys where a
wonderfull work ys wrought there / to
ascribe yt to god the master of all mas-
tries / rather than the dyuyl that can
do nothyng but by suffraunce / excepte
we se some cause that canot suffer that
work to be rekenyd goddys. Well q
he / than is yt reason that we shew you
sum such cause. It ys god he cause y-
noughe in that we se that god hath yn
scripture forboden sum ymagy / and
that vnder great maledyccion / As yn
the law. Non facies tibi sculptile. And
i the psalme. In critu israel de egipto /
where he furst by the mouth of the Pro-
phete / dyscrybith the folwe of suche as
worshyppith thole imagys / that hath
eyys and cannot here / handis and can
not feele / fere and cannot go / mouth &
cannot speke. All whych absurdytees
& vnreasonable folwes apperyth al well
in the worshyp of our imagt as in the
panyms idollys. And after he shewith
the maledyccion y shall fall theruppon /
Seynge lyke mote they be to them all
such as make them / & all suche as put
tyth theyr trust in the. And forthwyth
he declareth in whom good men haue
theyr trust / and the profyte that proces-
sith theruppon saynge. Domus israel
sperauit.

spernit in domino adiutor eorum et p-
 tector eorum. The house of Israell
 hath put theyre truste in our lord the
 helper and defender of the ys he. Now
 when the wordys of god be clere/open
 and playne vppon this syde/what re-
 ason ys yt to beleue the comentys and
 glosys of menne wherewith ye wold
 wynde owt agaynst the trew textys of
 god: what shulde we gyue credens to
 then sample of menys doynge agaynst
 the playne commaundement of goddys
 wrytyngys. And whē that oly chryste
 ys our sauour and our medyatour to
 bryng our nature agayne to god/ and
 our oonly proctour and aduocat afore
 hys father and may helpe vs best and
 will helpe vs most/what shall we make
 eyther our lady or eny other creature
 our aduocat or praye to the whych of
 lybelyhod here vs not/ For there can
 none of them be present at so many pla-
 ces at onys as they be callede vppon.
 and if they were/ yet arre they no nere
 vs then god hi selfe/ no/ so fayne wold
 that we dyd well as he y dyed for vs.
 and therfore whā we not only doo the
 reuerence (whych I were contēt wer
 done them for goddes sake as ye sayd
 before) but also praye to them/ we doo
 chryste and god great Inury. For yf
 we pray to the as medytours & aduoca-
 t for vs/we take fro Cryste hys office
 & gyue yt them. yf we aske helpe & helth
 of them/then make we the playne god-
 dys and betake to them the power of y
 godhed. For only god ys yt y geueth
 all good as wytnessyth saynt James.
 Euery good and very perfyte gyfte co-
 meth from aboue descendyng from the
 father of lyghtys. And suerly yf we co-
 syder how we behaue vs to the though
 ye saye that all the honoure geuen to
 sayntes redoundeth vnto god/ syth yt

ys doon as ye saye not for theyre owne
 lakys but for hys/ yet wold not I wene
 that god be well cōtent that we shuld
 for hys sake do to any creature lyke
 honour as to hym selfe. For scripiture
 sayeth that he wyll not gyue hys glo-
 ry fro hym no/ to any other creature lyke
 honour as to hym selfe/ And therfore
 y scolys as I here saye deuyse a treble
 dyfference in woꝛshypppyng/callyng y
 one dylva the reuerence or woꝛshypp y
 man dothe to man/ as the bonde man
 to the lord e. The second ypdylva that
 a man doth to a more excellent crea-
 ture as to angellys or sayntys. The
 thyrde latria the veneracyon honoure
 and adoracyon that creatures doth oly
 to god. In whych of these partyes ye
 put the woꝛshypping of ymagys/ I am
 nerther so well sene therein to tell/ no/
 so curyouse gretly to care. But thys I
 se well yf any of all these. iiii. kyndes of
 woꝛshypp be better the other/ thynag-
 hath yt. For they haue all that euer we
 cā doo. For what do we to god when
 we doo woꝛshypp hym in that fassyon y
 they call latria/ but we doo the same
 to sayntys and ymagys bothe: yf yt
 stande in knelyng/ we knele to saintys
 and theyre ymagys. yf in prayeing/ we
 praye as bytterly to them as to god. yf
 in sensyng and setting bp of cādyllys
 we cense them also and sett some saynt
 vii. candelles agaynst god one. So y
 what so euer fassyon of woꝛshypppyng
 latria be/ the same ys as largely don
 to sayntys and ymagys as to god/ And
 thys not vnto ymagys only (whych
 though they haue no lyfe haue yet som
 shappe and fassyon after man) but as
 menne wene vnto pyggys bonys also
 suntyme. For what reuerent honour
 ys there dayly don vnder y name and
 oppynyon of a sayntys relyke/ to sum
 olde

Vano heretici ad
 aduocat pro se
 magis et pro
 fructu

Fo. xxi.

old rotten bone that was happely sum
 tyne as Chaucer sayth a bone of some
 holy Jewes shepe. Se we not y some
 one sayntys hed ys thewid i. iii. placys
 And some one hoole sayntys body ly-
 eth in dyuers contres/ yf we beleue the
 lyes of y people. And in bothe the pla-
 cys ys y one body wo:shypped where
 the one o: the other ys false / and one
 body mystakyn for a nother / an euyl
 man happely for a good. And yet wyll
 the prestes of both placys take offryn-
 g and toll men thedct wyth myracles
 to . In whych case cyther must ye saye
 that the myracles of the one place bee
 false and feynid/ o: elles that myracles
 make not your matter good no: proue
 your pilgrimag trew. & yet myght all
 this gere be much y beter boyn if it wer
 trew y ye defend the thyng Wall/ whē
 ye saye that in wo:shypping of saynt
 and ymagis men wo:shypp neyther the
 tone no: y tother as goddys/ but thyn-
 gys for the sayntys and the sayntis for
 god. But now as yt semeth the matter
 ys i dede far otherwyle/ for the peple
 pray to the sayntys for theyre neces-
 sitys/ puttyng thereto truste for theyre
 petcyons in the sayntys them selfe as
 though god gaue yt not but they. And
 in the ymagys putte the people theyre
 truste in stede of the sayntys self/ For
 albe yt that yt myght stande wyth rea-
 son as ye haue answered me that presu-
 posed the myracles in these pylgryma-
 gys to be doon by god/ y peple myght
 then wyth reason goo seke and bylyte
 such placys as god by miracle declared
 that he wolde haue hym selfe o: hys ho-
 ly sayntys sought and honored in/ yet
 now thys answeere to wcheth the poynt
 but in parte & matcheth not the hoole
 matter/ For the people doo not onlye
 bylyte these placys and ther do all the

wo:shypp to the sayntys y they can pos-
 syble doo to god (wyth hope of theyre
 helpe from the sayntys self/ whych they
 shuld well wyt oly to be geuin by god/
 and thus by thys demenour make the
 sayntys goddys fellows/ y is to saye
 the seruantys matches w theyr master
 and the creaturs matys to the maker)
 but also vse them selfe in as relygyous
 fassyon / and as seruent affeccyd to the
 ymag of stone o: tre/ as cyther to saie
 o: god. And playnly take these ymag
 for the sayntys selie and for god hym
 selfe. And put in these ymag of theyr
 pylgrymagys theyre full hope & hoole
 trust y they shuld put in god. ¶ Whych
 besydes that I haue sayd byfore appe-
 ryth well in thys/ that they wyll make
 comparysos betwene our lady of Ips-
 wyth and our lady of wallsyngam/ As
 weenyng y one ymage more of power
 thē the tother/ whych they wold neuer
 doo/ but if i stede of our lady they put
 theyre truste in the Image selfe. And
 the people in spekyng of our lady/ Of
 all our ladyes sayeth one/ I loue beste
 our lady of wallingham/ And I sayth
 the other oure lady of Ipswyche. In
 whyche wordys what menyth she but
 her loue and her affeccyon to the stok
 that standyth in y chapell at wallyng-
 ham o: Ipswyche.
 ¶ What say you whā the peple speke of
 thys fassyon in theyr paynys & patelis
 helpe holye crosse of Bradman. helpe
 our dere lady of wallsyngham. Doth yt
 not playnly appere y cyther they trust
 in the ymagys in Crystys stede & oure
 ladys/ lettynge Cryst and our lady go/
 o: take at the leste wyle those ymagys
 so/ that they wene they were verely the
 tone Cryst the tother our lady her selfe
 And so euery way the fayth and deuo-
 cion wythdrawen fro god that shulde
 haue

haue yt & our hartys by these ymagys
blynded and set vppō the dede stocke
and stonys. Now is the good frute al-
so y foloweth theruppon. I lett passe
ouer the faytery and falsehede that ys
therem vsed amonge / suintyme by the
prestes / sūtyne by beggers in faynig
of false myracles. Loke what deuocy-
on men come thither wyth. wyth the
moste com they that moste abuse them
selfe / such I mene as moste trust haue
and blynde fayth in these blynde yma-
gys. But the most part y cometh / com-
myth for no deuocyon at all / but only
for good cōpany to bable thyderward
and drynke dronk there / and daunce &
rele homeward. And yet here is not all
for I tell you nothyng now of many
a noughty pak / many a flekke and hys
make that maketh theyre metyng at
these holsum hallows. And many that
seemeth an honeste huswiferye at home /
hath helpe of a bawde to bryng her to
myschefe as she walketh abroad about
her pylgrymagys. I harde onys when
I was a chylde the good scottyshe freer
father denold whomin I reken suerly for
a saynt yf there be eny i heuyn / I hard
hym preach at powlys crosse that our la-
dy was a byrgyn and yet at the pylgry-
magy be made many a foule metyng.
And loude he cryed out. ye mē of lōdō
gang on your selfe wyth your wyffys
to wyllesdon in the deuylles name or
ellys kepe thē at heme wyth you wyth
sorow. And surely so many good men
wene yt were best / cōsyderyng y those
byagys bene but wanderyng abowte
vanyte or supersticyous deuocyō / and
the nexte doze to Idoletry when men
haue theyre affeccyons in stede of god
bounden to blokkys and stonys / And
now syth that thys gere ys such / what
marueyle ys yt though (as I sayd be-

fore) the deuyll be gladde to geue attē-
daunce theron / and doo for hys parte
what he maye to helpe hys owne deu-
rys forward. O what marueyle ys yt
though god in thys curlyd world whē
we fall from hym to other / and from y
honoure of hym selfe to hys sayntys /
when we doo as the Paynymys dyd in
stede of god worshyp māmotys / and
all thys by fallynge to folowe menys
glosys beforē hys qñe text / what wō-
der ys yt though god agayn scrue vs
as he scrupd thē / and suffer the deuyll
delude vs as he dyd them / and make
vs lene to fals miracles as we fall wyl-
fully to fals goddys. Thus say they q
he that speke on y syde / And yet moch
more then I cā call to mynd. But suer-
ly syth ye willyd me to forbere nothig /
I haue as I coud rather set to sū what
not of myn owne oppynyō / but of myn
owne inuencyon / then any thyng lest
owt that I coude remember whyche
I had euer hard any man ley / to pue
the myracles done at pylgrymagys to
be vncertayn by whō they be wrought /
or rather to proue that they shulde not
be goddes myracles but the deuyllys
wonders.

The .xviii. chapter

The authoꝝ dyffereth thanstwere
to the forsayde obieccyons. & fyrst
by scrypture he proueth y y chyrche
of chryste can not erre in eny necessa-
ry artycle of chrystys fayth. And in
thys chapyter bee those wordys of
crist specyally touched. Sup cathe-
drum Moysi sederūt. ac. Que dicūt
vobis facite. que autem faciunt no-
lite facere / cōcernyng the authoryte
of the chyrch.

Suerly quod I for my parte I cā
you very good thākf for ye haue
not sayntely defendyd yourte parte as
though

fo. xxiii.

though yt were a corruptyd advocate
p wold by colufyon hadell hys client
uater fecbly for the pleafure of hys ad-
uocaty/ but ye haue fayd therein/ I ca
tell whelcher as mych as any man may
fay/ but certenly I fuppofe as much as
ye eyther haue hard any man fay or ca
your felf fay/ And at p left wyle much
more than I haue hard of any mā els/
or coud haue layd of my felf. And vn-
dowtyd as ye fpake of fhortyng in the
begynnig/ thys gere how nere it goeth
to the pyrk we fhall fee after. But thys
I promyle you yt wold fayn bere ouer
the but a all. For if yt myght hold a be
bidden by/ and were as well abie to be
prouyd trew as I truft to pue yt fals/
the but we fhote at were quite gon for
any fuerre p we coud reke of our fayth
a criftendome. But now to cum to the
poynte/ Syth yt is agreed all redy be-
twene vs/ that at thefe ymagys a pyl-
grymagys myracles bene there/ eyther
they wyd by god for the comprobacyon
of hys plefure theryn/ or wōders wro-
ught by the dyuell for oure delufyon a
dampnacyon/ If it may eyther appere
to vs p they be not done by the dyuell/
then wyll yt well folow p they be done
by god. Or yf it be prouyd to be done
by god for the good of hys chyrch/ then
wyll it be clere ynough that they be no
wonders wrought by the dyuell to the
dysceyt of cryften peple. And syth that
eyther other of thefe partyes prouyd/
implyeth the reprofe of your purpofe/
I wyll affay to fhe w/ a truft ryght well
to proue you the trouth of our fyde by
furn one of thefe ways or paraduēture
by both/ that ys to wete alwell in pro-
uyng that god doth thefe myracles/ as
in reproving a confutryng p they fhuld
be done by the dyuell. And fufst wold
I fayne mete wyth your obieccyons a

answer them forthwyth whyle they be
frefh/ lauyng that me feimch better for
the whyle to difter them/ for afmuch as
furn thyng ther be/ wheruppon it wyll
be requifite p we fufst be both agreed:
wythout whych we were lyk to walke
wyde in wo: dys a ronne at all ryot fo
lofe/ that our mater coud nother haue
ground/ order/ nor ende. ¶ Now yf I
wer in thys mater to dyspute w a pay-
nym that wolde make the queftryon be
twene theyz myracles a ours/ albevt I
fhuld haue a clere mater in the end/ yet
muft it nedys be a longe mater a much
entryked or yt fhuld cu at the end. And
hole bokys wold yt hold/ both the con-
futyng of theys a vnto them thallerta
cyō of our own/ fpecyally for that they
receyue not oure fcripture/ a betwene
them a vs nothyng comune to groun
vppon but reafon And yf we fhoulde
dyspute w a few leffe labour fhuld we
haue/ lyth that we fhulde haue w hym
thogh he deny the new testamente/ yet
reafon a p old testamente agreed vppō/
wherin we fhuld not bary for the text
but for p fentente and vnderftanding.
For therein we fhulde haue hym ftyfly
wythftande vs. ¶ But now syth wee
fhall in our mater dyspute and reafon
wyth thofe that agree theryn felfe for
cryften menne/ oure dyspycyons ys fo
much the fhorter in that we muft ne-
dys agree to gether in mdo thyngys:
For wee muft agree in reafon where
fayth refufyth yt not. And ouer that
wee fhall agree vppon the hole corpus
of fcripture/ as well the new testamente
as the olde. But in the interpretacyon
wee maye paraduenture ftybbe. Is yt
not fo? ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ Well quod
I/ ys there any other thyng where in
ye thynke that wee fhall bary/ but the

interpre-
E.i.

interpretacyō of the scripture. ¶ **N**ot
that I remeiber quod he / except the
scripture yt self wheruppō we talk / as
of the woꝛthypppyng of ymagē oꝛ pray-
eng to sayntys / in whych men thynke
there can be no greate questyon yf the
scripture be well interpretyd. ¶ **Y**e do
q̃ I agre that such thyngys as arn me-
cyonyd in the gospell spokyn by Cryst
vnto saynt Peter & other hys apostels
& dyscyples / were not only sayd to the
self / noꝛ onely foꝛ them selfe / but to the
foꝛ theyer successours in Crystys flok /
And by them to vs all / that ys to wete
euey man as shall appertayne to hys
parte. ¶ **W**hereby mene you that q̃ he.
¶ **I** mene quod I as foꝛ esaiꝓle whā
he sayd / Nisi abundauerit iusticia ve-
stra plusquam Scribarū & phariseoꝝ /
non intrabitis in regnū celoꝝ. Except
your iustyce abound & excede ỹ iustyce
of the Scrybys & pharises / ye shall
neuer cū in heuyn. And where he saith
If thou wylt enter into the kyngdoime
of heuyn kepe the cōmaundementys /
dyd he not say such thyngys to theym
foꝛ all crystyn men ỹ shuld come after?
¶ **I** thynke yes quod he foꝛ the seconde
woꝛd concernyng the cōmaundment.
But as foꝛ the first / that theyꝛ iustyce
shulde be better than the iustyce of the
scrybys & pharises / paraducenture he
spake specyally to hys appostels them
self / ỹ they shuld not be lyke ỹ scrybys
& pharises / whych comaundyd other
many thyngys / & dyd nothyng theym
selfe. ¶ **T**hat ys in my mynde quod I
well taken. and so doth holy saynt Au-
gustyne expoune it. But syth ye think
he sayd that woꝛd to hys appostels spe-
cyally rather than to all hys hole flok /
whether thik you that he sayd yt onely
to them / oꝛ els to all other also ỹ shuld
after come in theyꝛ placis & succede the

in offyce. ¶ **M**ay foꝛ god q̃ he to all ỹ
byshoppys he sayd yt & prelat. & spyr-
tuall rulers of hys chyrch ỹ euer shalbe
in ỹ chyrch / foꝛbyddyng them to binde
& lay vppon other poꝛe mennys bakkis
impozunable burdeyns / to the bering
wherof the self wyl not onys put foꝛth
a fynger. ¶ **V**ery well sayd q̃ I. what
thynke you than of that he sayd / Do ye
suche thyngys as they byd you do / but
do not as ye se the do. ¶ **I**n that wold
our loꝛd quod he ỹ all the people shuld
do all that the prelatys shuld cōmaū-
d as far as was cōmaundyd in the lawe
by god / but he mente no further. And
therfoꝛe he sayed that they sat vppon ỹ
chayꝛ of Moyses. & he wyllyd that they
shuld foꝛ ỹ cause be obeyd. And therein
he ment in such thyngys onely as they
shuld cōmaund / that were by god com-
maundyd the people in the law gyuen
vnto Moyses. And that crystyn men
in lyke wise shall obey the byshoppys &
prelatys / cōmaundyng onely suche
thyngys as hyin self hath cōmaundyd
hys people in hys gospell & hys owne
law. ¶ **A**nd in nothyng els q̃ I. what
meanyth yt than that our Loꝛde in the
parable of the Samaritane / beryng ỹ
wouddyd mā into ỹ inne of hys chyrch /
and delueryng hym to the hoste after
that hym self had dressyd hys wound
wythe wyne and oyle / & lefte wyth the
hoste the .ii. grotys of the two testamē-
tys / promysyd the hoste besyde / ỹ what
so euer the hoste wolde bestowe vppon
him moꝛe / he wold when he cam agayn
recompense hym therfoꝛe. And also in
that place that we spake of our Sauy-
our sayd that the Scrybys and phare-
ses besyde ỹ law of Moyses on whose
lete they satt / dyd lay greate fardellys
and faste bounde them on other men-
nys bakkis / to the beryng wherof they
wolde

For. xxi.

would not moue a fynger the self. And yet for all that he bad þ people do what they: prelatys wold byd them/ though the burden were heuy/ And let not to do yt though they shuld se the bydders do clene the contrary. for whych he addyd/ but as they do/ do not you. ¶ By oure lady q he I lyke not thys glose. For yt makyth all for the bondys / by which the laws of the church bynde vs to moze a do thā þ iewes were almost wyth Moyses lawe. And I wote well Cryste sayd cum to me ye that be ouerchargyd and I shall refreche you. And hys appostels sayd/ that the bare lawe of Moyses beside the ceremonys that were set to by the scribeys & the phariseys / were moze than euer theye were able to bere and fulfyll. And therefore cryste cā to call vs into a law of liberte. And þ was in takyng away the bande of those wery ceremoniall lawes. And therfore sayth our sauour of the law þ he callyth vs vnto/ My yoke (saythe he) ys fyt and easy/ & my burdeyn but lyght. wherby yt apperyth that he mēt to take away the strayte yoke & put on a moze easy. And to take of the heuy burdeyne & lay on a lyghter. whyche he had not done yf he wold lade vs wyth a fardell full of inennys lawes mo thā a carte can cary away. ¶ The lawes of Cryste quod I be made by hym selfe & hys holy spyryte for the gouernaunce of hys people/ and bee not in hardnes & dyffyculte of keepyng any thyng lyke to the lawes of Moyses. And thereof durst I for nede make your self iudge. For yf ye bethynk you well/ I wene if ye were at thys age now to chole/ yow wold rather be bounden to many of þ lawes of Crystys chyrch than to þ circumcysyd alone. For to as much ease as we wene that Cryste callyd vs / yet be not þ laws þ haue bene made by his

chyrch of halfe the payne nor halfe the dyffyculte that hys own be/ whych him self puttyth in the gospel/ though wee set asyde the counceillys. It ys I trow moze hard not to swere at all thā to forswere/ to forbere ech angry word than not to kill/ cōtinuall watch & prayer thā a few days appoyntid. Than what an anyete & solicytude is there in þ forbearig of euery ydrill word/ what an hard thyet after the worldly cōpt for a small matter: Neuer was there almoste so soze a worde sayed vnto the Iues by Moyses/ as ys to vs by Cryste in that worde alone where he sayethe that we shall of euery ydle worde gyue accōpt at the day of iugmente. what saye ye then by deuorlys restraynyd & lybertie of dryerse wyuys wythdrawen / wher they hade lyberte to wedde for theyre pleasure yf they cast a fantesky to any þ they toke i the warr. ¶ One of þ ware ys ynoughc quod he to make any one mā warre. ¶ Now that is merily sayd q I/ but though one eye were inough for a fletcher/ yet ys he for store cōtent to kepe twayn/ and wold though they were luntyne soze both and shuld put hyu to lū payn/ what ease also call you thys that we be bounden to abyde all sorow and shamefull deth and all matterdum bppo payne of perpetuall dāpnacyon for the professyon of our fayth. ¶ Crowe ye þ these easy wordys of hys easy yoke and lyght burden were not as well spoken to hys apposteles as to you. and yet what ease called he them to. Called he not them to watchyng/ fastyng/ prayeng/ preching/ walkyng/ hunger/ thirst/ cold/ and hete/ betyng/ scorpyng/ pylsonemente / paynefull & shamefull deth. The ease of hys yoke stādeth not i bodely ease/ nor the lyghtnes of his burden standeth nott in the

E.ii.

Qaknes

flaknes of any bodely payne (excepte
we be so wanton that where hym selfe
had not heuyn wout payne/we loke to
cum thether w playe) but yt stādeth in
the swetnes of hope/wherby we fele in
our payne a plesaunt taste of heuyn.
Thys ys þ̄ thyng as holy saynt Grego-
ry Nazanzeno declareth þ̄ refresshyng
men þ̄ arn ladið/a maketh our yoke ea-
sy & our burdeyn light. not any delyue-
ryng frō þ̄ lawes of þ̄ church oꝛ frō any
good tēpall lawes eyther/in to a lewd
lyberte of slouthfull reste. For þ̄ were
not a easy yoke/but a pullng of þ̄ hed
owt of þ̄ yoke. Noꝛ it were not a lyght
burdeyn/but all þ̄ burden dyschargyd
cōtrary to þ̄ woꝛdis of saint poule and
saynt Peter both/which as well vnder-
stode the woꝛdis of theyr mayster as
these men doo. And as a thig cōsonant
& well aggreable therw doo cōmaūde
vs obedience to our superiours & rulers
one & other i thyngis by god. not forbo-
den all though they bene harde & sore.
But see for goddes sake how we be
ronne a gret way further thē I thoght
to go whē I begane/a haue lefte þ̄ we
shuld go forth wyth all. It ys no losse
quod he for there is a good thyng well
towched by þ̄ waye. well q̄ I let vs go
bak agayne where we lef. lyth ye agre
þ̄ chryste spake hys woꝛdis not to hys
apostels onely for theyr owne tyme/
but suche thyngys as he sayd to thē he
ment to al þ̄ shuld folow thē/ And ther
of sū what he spake to thē for þ̄ prestys
& bysshoppys onely/As when he sayd/
vos estis sal terre/ye be þ̄ salt of þ̄ erth/
& sū what to þ̄ hole flocke as when he
sayd/Mandatū nouū do vobis vt dili-
gatis inuicem sicut ego dilexi vos. I
geue you a new cōmaundment þ̄ you
loue to gethere as I haue louyd you/
Tell me thē I requyre you/whā chryst

sayd to saynt Peter/Sathanas hath de-
syred to syfte þ̄ as men syfte coꝛne/but
I haue prayd for þ̄ þ̄ thy faith shal not
fayle/sayde he thys to hi as a promyse
of þ̄ sayth to be by goddes helpe ppetu-
ally kepte & preseruyd in saynte peter
only/oꝛ elles in þ̄ hole church/that ys
to wete þ̄ hole cōgregacyō of chrysten
people professyng his name & his sayth
& abydyng in þ̄ body of the same / not
being pceded & cut of/meanynge þ̄ his
sayth shuld neuer so vterly fayle i his
church/ but þ̄ yt shulde hole & entyre
abide & remain theri. Mary q̄ he thys
ys good to be aduysed of. For though
chryste for þ̄ moze parte suche thyngys
as he spake to ðe spake to all/ accoꝛdig
to hys owne woꝛdes/q̄ vni dico omib⁹
dico/þ̄ I say to one I say to all / yet sū
thyngis he sayd & ment perticulerly as
he spake it. As when he bad saint peter
cū vpo þ̄ water to hym/ he bad not the
remenaunte com so. And so may yt p-
aduenture be þ̄ thys woꝛd was spoken
and ment toward Peter alone. That
wylbe q̄ I very harde to hold. For his
saythe after fayled. But lyth that vpon
hys fyrst confessyon of the ryghte
sayth that chryste was goddes sō / our
loꝛde made hym hys vniuersall vicare/
and vnder hym hed of hys church/
And þ̄ for hys successour he shuld be þ̄
fyrst vppo whō & whole ferme cōfessed
sayth he wolde bylde hys church/ & of
any þ̄ was oly mā make hym þ̄ fyrste &
chefe hed and ruler therof/ therfore he
shewyd hym that hys saythe/that is to
wete the sayth by hym confessed/ shuld
neuer fayle in hys church noꝛ / neuer
dyd yt/not wythstādyng hys denyng.
For yet stode styll the lyghte of saythe
in our lady/ of whom wee rede in the
gospell contynewall assystence to her
swetest son wythout slepyng oꝛ slpytting
And in

And in all other we fynde eyther fleig
from hym one tyme or other / or ellys
doute of his resurreccyon after hys deth
(hys dere mother only excepte) For þ
sygnifycacyon and remembraunce
wherof the church yerely in the tenebze
lessons leueth her cādyl burnyng styll
when all the reinnaunt that signyfych
hys appostels and dysciples be one by
one put out. And syth his sayth i effect
fayled / and yet the sayth þ he pfessyd
abode styll in our lady / þ prouyse that
god made was (as it semeth) ment not
to hym / but as hed of the church. And
therfore our lord added thereto / And
thou beyng one of these dayes. conuer
tyd / conferme a strength thy byethern.
In whych by these wordes our sauour
met a pmyse that þ sayth shuld stand
foreuer. So þ the gates of hell shulde
not preuayle there agaynste. Welles
myght ye say þ these wordys spoken
to saynt peter / fede my shepe / was met
but for hym selfe / a no comaundmente
to any successour of his or any byshop
or prelate. And by that mean myght ye
say also that these wordes of Chrystys
prouyse made vnto his dysciples that
the holy goste shuld instructe them of
all thyngys / were only mente for them
selfe in theyre owne parsons. And not
that cuer he shulde instructe his church
aftere theyre dayes. And whenne he
sayd wher so cuer be. ii. or. iii. gathered
to gether in my name there a I my self
among them / we shall say by thys me
anes that he ment but of hys own dys
ciples in his owne tyme whyle he was
here wyth them / and not that he wold
be lyke wyle present wyth suche othere
congregacyons i his chyrche after. And
fynally the were these wordys frustrat
where he sayd. Lo I am wyth you all
þ dayes to þ worldes ende. yf he shude

Jo. xxv.

mene yt but wyth them that hard hym
speke yt / then shuld yt appere þ he had
intendyd a chyrche onely of them and
for theyr tyme / And theys from theyr
dethe hether all were don. Clerely ye
quod he I can well agre that all suche
thyngys was spoken by chryst to make
them sure that the sayth shulde neuer
fayle i his chyrche / how be it if I durst
doute in that poynt one thyng is there
that sumwhat styckethe in my mynd.
Doute on quod I betwene vs twayn
apare not no / let not to tell me what
moueth you. Syr q he I thynk þ god
letteth nomore by sayth the he doth by
charyte. but as for charyte a good wor
k with vertuous lyuyng shall coole a
decaye in the church as our sauoure
sayth i the .xxiii. chapyter of mathew.
Because inquite shall abound / þ chary
te of many men shall coole. And sure
ly me thynkythe it is well nere all gon
all redy. God forbide quod I. For all
be yt þ yt greterly day by day decayeth
and moche people nought / yet be ther
many good men abowte / a shalbe all
wey thoughe they be few in coparyson
of the multytude. And yet is yt not all
one of other vertuous and of say he / þ
ys to wete of knowlege and byleue of
thatticles of our sayth. I mene of such
artycles as we be of necessity bounden
to beleue. For albe yt that the flokke of
chryste shall neuer lake good a deuout
vertuouse people / yet shall both þ best
be synners / and also moch more þ mul
tytude shall euer haue the sayth that
I speke of / tha shall haue the goodnes
of liuing. why so q he. For. ii. causes q
I. one þ inalyce of þ peple wher þ they
wyl not be so redye to lyue well as to
beleue well. for þ peple the self wyl bet
ter kepe þ sayth the other vertues / syth
it is a thig of les labour to know what
they

E.iii.

they shuld byleue / and to beleue yt all
 so when they knowe yt / then yt ys to
 worke well. For though the knowlege
 and byleue bryng many men to the la
 boure of good workys / yet the worlde
 comenly and the fraylete of our fleshe
 wyth theryement of our gostly enmys
 make vs wyllygly and wyttyngly well
 knowyng and beleuyng the good / yet
 to walke in the worse. as doth lutyne
 the syk man that byleuyng hys physy
 cyon / and hauyng had also ryght often
 good pfofe by his owne experyence to
 hys payne befoze / that su certeyn mete
 oꝝ drynke shall doo hym harme / doth
 yet of an inportune apetyte fall foꝝ his
 lytell pleasure to hys great payne and
 hurte. A nother cause ys q̃ I p̃ good
 nes of god / whyche how far so euer his
 people fall from the vse of vertu / shall
 not yet as hym selfe hath promysed suf
 fer them to fall from the knowlege of
 vertu / not oonly foꝝ the manifestacyō
 of hys iustysse p̃ theyre owne cōscyence
 may condemne them i doyng p̃ thys
 that them selfe know to be nought / but
 also to thentent they may styll haue a
 myonge them a perpetuall occasyon of
 amēdment. For yf the fayth were onis
 gone and the churche of cryste fallen in
 that errour that they beleuyd byre to
 be vertu / and Idolatrye to be p̃ ryght
 way of goddys woꝝshyp / the had they
 no rule to gyde the to better. And ther
 foze whyle we be not i errour of vnder
 standyng & faythe / how so euer we fall
 oꝝ how often so euer we synne / we see
 the waye to turne agayne by grace to
 goddys mercy. But if fayth were gone
 all were gone / and then had god here
 no church at all.

CThe. xix. chapter.

Chaunthoꝝ pueth p̃ yf p̃ woꝝshyp
 of ymagys were ydolatrye than the

chyrch byleuyng hys to be lawfull &
 pleasaunt to god / were in a mysse by
 leue and in a dedely errour. and tha
 were the fayth fayled in the chyrche
 wherof chryste hath promysede the
 contrary as ys pꝛoued in the chapp
 ter befoze.

Clerly syr quod he that god
 made not hys churche foꝝ a
 whyle but to endure tyll the
 worldys end / that ys there no chrysten
 man but he wyll well agree. And sythe
 hys chyrche can not stande wyth owte
 fayth whyche ys the entre into chryste
 dom. foꝝ as saynt poule sayth / accedete
 ad deum oportet credere / who so will
 cum to god must nedys byleue / no mā
 wyll denye but that fayth ys & allwey
 shalbe in hys church. And p̃ his church
 not in fayth only and the knowlege of
 the trouthes necessary to be knowen foꝝ
 oure soule helth / but also to the doyng
 of good workys & auoydyng of euills /
 ys / hath ben and euer shalbe specyally
 gyded and gouernede by god and the
 secreete inspyracyō of hys holy spyrte.
 well quod I then yf the chyrche haue
 fayth yt erreth not in byleue. That ys
 trouth quod he. It shulde erre quod I
 yf yt beleuyd not all the trouthes that
 we be bounde to beleue. what elles q̃
 he. what & we beleuyd quod I all that
 ys trew / & ouer p̃ sum other thyng not
 only false but also dyspleasaunt to god /
 dyd we not then erre in our necessary
 byleue / wherby meane you that quod
 he. As thus quod I / yf p̃ one byleuid
 in all the thre persons of the trynyte / p̃
 fader the sō and p̃ hoīy goste / and ther
 wyth wer perswaded that ther were a
 fourth person besyde / equall & one god
 wyth the. He muste quod he nedis erre
 in hys necessary byleue / by whych he is
 bounden to beleue in the trynite. And
 that

that felow beleuyth in a quaternyte þ
ys quod I the hoolc trynyte and oone
mo. But we be not only not bounde
quod he to beleue in any mo / but also
bounden not to beleue i any mo. Verry
well quod I. then erreth he as moche &
as far lakketh hys ryght beleue that by
leuyth to moche as he that beleueth to
lytle and he that beleueth sunn thyng
þ he shuld not / as he þ beleuyth not lo
thig þ he shuld. what els quod he and
what then. Mary thys quod I. yf we
beleue that yt were lawfull & well don
to pray to sayntys / and to reuerence
theyr ymag / and do honour to theyr
relyques and vysyt pylgrymag / And
than where we do these thyngys they
were in dede not well dō but were dys
pleasaunt to god / and by hym reputed
as a mynyshment and a wythdraw
yng of the honour dew to hym selfe / &
therefore afore hys imageste reprocud &
odpous and taken as Idolatrye / were
not thys opynyon a dedly pestylent er
rou in vs & a playn lak of ryght faith
yes for god q he. But ye graunte q
I that the churche can not erre in the
ryght sayth necessarye to be beleuyde /
whyth ys geuen and allwey kept i the
churche by god. Truth quod he. Chan
solloweth it quod I that the churche in
that yt beleuyth sayntys to be prayed
vnto / relyquys and ymag to be wor
shypped / and pylgrymagys to be vy
sytēd and sought / ys not deceyued nor
doth not erre / but that the beleue of þ
churche ys trewe therein. And therup
pon also sollowith that the wonderfull
workys done aboue nature at suche y
magys and pylgrymagys at holy rely
ques by prayours made vnto saynt /
be not done by the deuyl to delude the
churche of chryste therwyth / sythe the
thyng that the church doth / ys well dō

and not Idolatrye. But by the grete
honoure dō vnto sayntys god hym self
the moze hyghly honored in that hys
seruantys haue so moch honour for his
sake. And therof solloweth yt that him
selfe makyth the myracles in compro
bacyō therof. Also if it be trew that ye
haue grauntyd that god kepeth & euer
shall kepe in hys churche þ ryght sayth
& rygh beleue by the helpe of hys owne
hande that hath plantyd yt / then can it
not be that he shall suffer the deuyl to
worke wonders lyke vnto hys owne
myracles to bryng hys hole church in
to a wronge saythe. And then yf those
thyngys be not doon by the deuyl / I
trowe ye wyll not then denye but they
be doon by god. And so ys yet agayn
our purpose double prouyd. First in þ
ye graunt that god wyll nat suffer his
churche to erre i his ryght faith / secūdy
whythe pursueth theruppō by that he
hath by many a vysable myracle decla
red / þ thys sayth & maner of obseruaūce
ys very pleasaunte and acceptabie vnto
hym. whythe myracles sythe they bene
prouyd to be don vppon good ground
and cause / appere well to be dō by god
and not by our gostely enemy.

The. xx. chapter

The messenger alleggythe that þ
perpetuall beyng and assystence of
chryste wyth hys chyrche to kepe yt
owte of all damnable errours / ys no
thyng ellys but hys being wyth his
churche in holy scripture. wherof the
authore declareth the cōtrary.

¶ Ow thynke you quod I ys
there any thyng in thys ma
ter amysse. I can not well
tell q he what I myght answer there
to. But yet me thynkyth that I come
to thys poynte by some ouersyght in
grauntynge. ¶ well quod I menne say
sumtyme

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sumtyme when they wolde say oꝝ doo
a thyng and cannot well come thereon
but mysse and ouer se them selfe in the
assay/yt makyth no matter they saye
ye way begyn agayn and mend yt for
it is nother masse noꝝ mattins. And al
be yt in thys matter ye haue nothyng
graunted but that ys in my mynde as
trew as the matens oꝝ y masse eyther/
yet yf ye reken your selfe ouer swyfte i
graunting/I geue you leue to go bak
and call agayn what ye wyll. In good
fayth quod he full hard wer it in myne
own mynd otherwyle to thynk/but y
god shall allway kepe the ryght byleue
in hys churche. But yet sythe we come
to thys conclusyon by the grauntynge
therof/let vs loke onys agayne there-
uppon. And what yf me wold saye as
I hard onys oꝝ me saye my self/y god
doth peraduenture not kepe alwaye
fayth in hys churche/to gyue the war-
nyng wyth when they doo well & whē
the contrary/ But syth he hath geuen
theym and lefte wyth theym the scrip-
ture i whyche they may suffyciently see/
boih what they shuld byleue and what
they shuld doo/he letteth theym alone
therwyth wythoute any other specyall
cure of hys vppon theyre fayth and by
l. sc. For therein they may see all y the
nedyrh if they wyll loke & labour theri.
And if they wyll not/y faulte is theyr
owne slouth and foly. And who so bee
wyllyng to mend and be better /maye
alway haue light to se how/by recours
to the redyng of holy scripture/whych
shall stande hym i lyke stede as ye sayd
byfoze y god keppe the fayth for/by hys
specyall menys in hys chyrch. Cys this
q I were thus/ wherof shuld chrystes
promyle serue: Ego vobiscū sum ōni-
bus diebus vsque ad finem seculi. I ā
wyth you all the dayes tyll thende of y

worlde/wherefore shold he be here w
hys churche/yf hys beyng here shulde
not kepe his ryght fayth and byleue in
hys churche: Mary q he these wordys
well agreeth wyth all. for god ys & shal
be vntyll the worldes ende wythe hys
churche in his holy scripture. As Abra-
ham answered the ryche man in hell sey-
eng they haue Moyles and the prophē-
tes/not meanyng that they had the all
at that tyme present wyth the but only
y they had theyr bokys. And so chryst
for asmoche as the scripture hath hys
fayth comprehendyd therein accordyng
to his own wordes/ Scrutamini scrip-
turas/quia scripture sunt q testimonis
um perhibent de me/ Serche you the
scriptures for they bere witness of me.
therfoze he sayd/ Ego vobiscū sum
vsque ad finem seculi/I am wyth you
to thende of the worlde/ because his holy
scripture shall neuer fayle as long as
the worlde endureth. Heuyn and yerth
sayth he shall passe away but my wor-
des shall neuer passe away. And ther-
foze i his holy wrytig is he w vs styll/
and theri he keppeyth and techeyth vs his
ryght fayth yf we lyste toloke for yt / &
ellys as I sayde our owne sawte and
foly yt ys. Cys god quod I be none o-
therwyle wyth vs but i holy scripture/
then be those wordys of chryste/ I am
wythe you to y worldes ende/ sū what
straungely spoken/and vnylike y wor-
des of Abraham wherunto ye reseml-
ble the. For chryst left neuer a boke be-
hynde hym of hys owne makynge as
Moyles did and the profytis. And in
theyr bokys was he spoki of as he was
in the gospell. wherfore if he had spokē
and ment of scripture / he wold haue
sayd that they shuld haue wyth them
styll hys euangelystes and wryters of
his gospels as Abrahā sayd they haue
moyses

moyses and the prophetis/whych were the writers of the bokis that the iewes had. Chryſt alſo ſayd/ I am wyth you tyll the end of the worlde/not I ſhalbe/ but am. whych ſe the word appryed to hys godhed. And therfor that word am/is þ name by whych our lord wold as he tolde Moyses / be named vnto pharao/as a name whych from all creatures (ſyth they be all ſubget to tyme) clerly dyſcernyth hys godhed / whych ſe euer beynge and preſent wythowte dyfference of tyme paſſe oꝝ to come. In whych wyſe he was not in his holy ſcripture/foꝝ þ had begynnyng. And at thoſe wordys ſpoken / was not yet all wryten. I oꝝ of the cheſe part whych ſe the new teſtament/ther was yet at that tyme neuer on word wreten. And alſo we be not ſure bi any promiſe made that the ſcripture ſhall enoure to the worldeſ ende/albeit I thynk verely þ ſubſtaunce ſhall. But yet as I ſaye/ þ miſe haue we none thereof. Foꝝ where our lorde ſayth þ hys wordes ſhall not paſſe away/noꝝ one iote therof be loſt/ he ſpake of his promyſes made in deue as hys faythe and doctryne taught by mouth and inſpyracion / ſhōt that the wrytyng ſhuld neuer be loſt/ot whych ſum partyes be all redy loſe/moze per aduenture then we can tellof. And of that we haue/ the bokys in ſum parte corrupted wyth myſſe wrytynge. And yet the ſubſtaunce of thoſe wordys that he ment ben knowne/whet ſum partie of the wrytyng ſe vnkown. He ſayth alſo that hys father and he ſhulde lend the holy goſte/and alſo that he wolde cōhyin ſelfe. wherto all thys yf he mēt no moze but to leue the bokys behynd them and go theyre way: Chryſte is alſo preſent among vs bodyly i the holy ſacramente/ And ſe he there preſente

fo. xxvii.
wyth vs foꝝ nothyng. The holy goſte taught many thyng. I thynk vnwryten/and whet of ſum parte was neuer compyſyd i þ ſcripture yet vnto thys daye/as the artycle whych no goode chryſten man wyll doute of/that oure bleſſyd lady was a perpetuall byrgyn alwell after the byrtle of chryſte as afore. Oure ſauour alſo ſayd vnto his Appoſtles / that whet they ſhuld be accuſed and brought in Iugement/ they ſhuld not nede to care foꝝ anſwere / yt ſhulde euen the be put i ther myndes. And that he mente not only the remēbraunce of holy ſcripture/which befoꝝe the paynym iugſ were but a colde and bare allegyng/but ſuche wordes newe geuen them by god inſpyred in theyre hertſ ſo effectuall /and cōfermyd wyth myracles/ þ theyr aduerſaries though they were angry therat / yet ſhuld not bee able to reſiſte yt. And thus wythe ſecret helpe and inſpiration ſe chryſte wyth hys churche/and wyll be to þ worldeſ ende preſent and aſſiſtent. ſhōt oꝝ ly ſpoken of in wrytyng.

The. xxi. chappyter

The authoꝝ ſheweth that yf yt ſe were in dede as the meſſenger ſayt / that is to wytt that chryſte cōtynued wyth hys chyrch none other wiſe but only by the leuyng of hys holre ſcripture to theyn/and that all the fayth alſo were oly therein/thā ſhuld it yet ſolow that as far as þ neceſſyte of our ſaluacion requyreth / god geueth the chyrch þ ryght vnderſtādyng therof. And theruppon ſoloweth farther that the chyrche can not err in the ryght fayth. whereuppon is inferred e. re ſone/all þ the meſſenger wold haue fled fro byfoꝝe. And theron alſo ſpecially ſoloweth/that all the text of holy ſcripture whych herityque

heretiques alledge agaynst ymag^s
or any poynt of the comen beleue of
Chrystys catholique church/can no
thyng serue theyre purpose.

But now wold I wytte/lyth ye
breken hym none other wyse pre
sent the in holy scripture/ whether the
doth he gyue hys churche the ryght vn
derstandyng of holy scripture or not:
What yf he do not quod he. **M**ary
quod I then your selfe seeth well/that
they were as well wythowte. And so
shulde the scripture stand them in as
goode stede / as a payre of spectacles
shulde stande a blynde freer. **T**hat
ys very truthe quod he. But therefore
hath hys wysdom and goodnes prouy
ded yt so to be wreten/that yt may be
well vnderstāden by the collacyō and
consyderacyon of one texte wyth a no
there. **M**ay yt not also be q^d I that
sum of them whych do rede it diligent
ly/and dyligently compare and consy
der euery texte how yt may stand with
othe^r may yet for all that mistake and
mysunderstande yt: **Y**es quod he yt
may be so. For elles had there not ben
so many heretikes as ther hathe ben.
Very truthe quod I. But now yf all
the sayth be in holy scripture / and no
parte therof any where elles / but that
yt must be therein all to gether lernyd/
were yt then suffycient to vnderstand
sum parte aright and sum other parte
wronge in the necessary poynt^s of our
sayth/or must we as farforth as cōcer
nith y^e necessarye therof mysunderstand
no parte: **W**e must q^d he m^{ake} no
parte as farre as necessaryly cōcernith
our saythe. But we muste haue so the
ryght vnderstanding of all to gether/
that we conceyue no damnable errour
Well sayd quod I. Then yf we must
we maye. For yf we may not we muste

not. For our lord byndyth no mā to a
ipossybylyte. **W**e may q^d he. If we may
q^d I the may we ether by good hap fall
in the ryght vnderstandyng/or els by
naturall reson cū to it/or els by supna
turall grace be ledd into it. **T**hat is
troth q^d he ned^s must it be one of these
ways. well q^d I we wyll not yet elerch
whyth. But I wold furst wyt whether
C^hrst haue a chyrch in the world cōty
nually/a so shall haue to y^e world^s end/
or els hath one sumtyme a sūtyme nōe
at all. As we might thynk y^e he had one
whyle he was here hym self a paduen
ture a whyle after/a hapely none at all
neuer lythys/no^r shall not agayne we
wot nere when. **M**ay q^d he y^e can not be
in no wyse/but y^e he muste nedys haue
hys church cōtynew styll sū where. for
els how coud he be w^{ith} them cōtynually
to y^e worldys end in scripture or other
wyse/yf they w^{ith} whō he promysyd to be
a cōtynew to the worldys end/shulde
not cōtynually so longe endure: **W**h
how coud those word^s of c^hrst be trew
Lo I am w^{ith} you all y^e days to the worl
dys end/yf before y^e world^s end he wer
a way sum days/as he wer in dede fro
y^e church sum days/if in sū days he had
no church. well quod I yet wold I wit
one thyng moze. Can he haue a church
wout saythe. **M**ay quod he that were i
possyble. For soth quod I so were it. for
hys church is a congregacyō of people
gatheryd into hys sayth And sayth is
the furst substācyall dyfference dyscer
nyng crysten men from hethen/as rea
son is the difference deuydyng mā frō
all the kyndys of brute bestys. **N**ow
then if hys churche be and euer shalbe
cōtynuali wythoute any tymes be
twene/in whyche there shall be none /
and wythoute sayth yt may neuer bee/
and no parte of the sayth is as ye saye
ellys

ellys where had but in holy scripture
and all yt must be had / and also as we
were agreyd a lytyll whyle afore / there
must be non errour adioynid therto / &
therfore as far as toucheth the necessity
of feyth no part of scripture may be
misle taken / but all must be vnderstan
den ryght / and may be ryght vndersta
den eyther by happe reason ~~out~~ helpe
of grace / yt necessarily foloweth that
by one oꝝ other of these ways / y^e chyrch
of Cryste hath alway & neuer fayleth
the ryght vnderstādyng of scripture /
as fare as longethe for oure necessitye.
¶ **¶** What foloweth in dede q^d he. ¶ Well
quod I let passe for the whyle. what fo
loueth further. And lyth the church so
hath / let vs fynde agrec by whyche of
these .iii. wayes the church hath it. why
there by happe / reason / oꝝ grace. ¶ By
happe quod he were a poore hauyng.
For so myghte yt hap to haue and hap
to fayle. ¶ Then quod I lythe yt hathe
yt euer / it can not be by hap. what thik
you then of reason. ¶ As lytell quod
he as any man thynketh. For I take
that for playne enmye to saythe. ¶ Ye
take paraduēture wꝛong quod I. But
thereof shall we se further aftere. But
now lyth ye so thynk / ye leue but the
thirde way / whych is the helpe of grace.
¶ So surly quod he. ¶ Clerly quod I
where reson may betwene dyuers ter
rys stand in greate doute whych way
to lene / I thynk that god wyth hys ho
ly spyryt ledeth hys church into the co
sent of the trouthe. As hym selfe sayd /
that the holy goste whō he wold send /
shulde lede theym i to all trouthe. And
thus by the helpe off hys grace as yee
graūt / y^e ryght vnderstandig of scrip
ture is euer preserued i hys church frō
all suche mystakynge / wherof myght fo
low any damnable errour concernyng

the fayth. And therof doth ther fyrst fo
low / that besyde the scripture self ther
is an other present assystence & speciall
cure of god / perpetuall with his church
to kepe yt i the right fayth / that it erre
not by mysse vnderstandyng of holy
scripture / contrary to thoppynio that
ye purposyd / when ye sayde y^e Chrys
tys beynge wyth hys church was only
the leuyng of hys holy scripture to vs.
And ouer this yf god were no nother
wyle present then ye speke of / yet lyth
yt ys proued that hys church for all y^e
euer hath the ryght vnderstandyng of
scripture / we be comen to y^e same poit
agayne that ye wold so fayne flyt frō.
For yf the scripture and nothyng but
y^e scripture doth contayn all thig y^e we
be bounden to beleue and to do and
to forbere / and y^e god also therfore pro
uydeth for hys church the ryght vnder
standyng therof / cōcernyng euery thig
necessary for vs that is cōteynid i scrip
ture / thē must there nedes folow ther
uppon the thynge y^e ye feryd / lest ye had
wꝛonge and vnadulydly grauntyd /
that ys to wyt / that god alway keepyth
the ryght fayth in his church. And ther
uppon foloweth further the remanant
of all that ys in questyon bytwene vs /
that the saythe of the chyrche in y^e woꝝ
shyp that yt beleuyth to be well geuyn
vnto sayntys / relyques and ymagys /
ys not erronious but ryght. And ther
uppon foloweth also that the myracles
done at such places ben none illusyōs
of dampned spryts / but the myghtye
hande of god / to shew hys pleasure in
the corroborycyon thereof / and in the
exertycyon of oure deuocyon therto.
¶ In dede quod he we be cū bakke here
wyth goyng forwarde / as men walke
in a mase. ¶ Ye haue not yet quod I
lost all that labour. For thogh ye haue
halfe

half a chek in thys poynte/ yet haue ye
yf ye perceyue yt matyd me in a nother
poynte/ by one thyng that ys agreed
bytwee vs now. ¶ What is that quod
he/ ¶ Thys quod I þ I haue agreed
aswell as you that god hath geuyn his
churche the ryght vnderstandynge of
scripture in as farforth as longyth to
the necessyte of saluacyon. ¶ In what
poynte quod he hath that matyd you?
¶ Why quod I se you not þ: I say then
wyl I not tell you but yf ye lyre me/
or yf I tell you yet shall ye not wyne
the game therby. For lyth ye se yt not
your selfe / yt ys but a blynde mate.
¶ Lett me knowe yt yet quod he/ and
I am agreyd to take none aduun-
tage therof. ¶ On that bargeyn be yt
quod I. ¶ Ye wote well quod I that a
geynst the woꝛthyppynge of ymagys &
prayng to sayntys/ ye layd certeyn tex-
tys of scripture to proue it forboden &
reputed of god for ydolatre. For an-
swer wherof when I leyd the sentence
that the churche and holy doctours/ ther
of gyue to those textys / ye sayed they
were but wennys falle gloses agaynst
goddes trew textys. And now lyth ye
graunt and I also that the churche can
not misvnderstand the scripture to þ
hynderaunce of þ ryght sayth i thyng
of necessite/ and that ye also knowlege
thys matter to be suche/ that yt muste
eyther be the ryght bileue and accepta-
ble seruyre to god / or ellys a wꝛonge
and erronys oppynyon and playne
ydolatre/ yt foloweth of necessyte that
the churche doth not mys vnderstande
those textys that ye or any other can al-
lege and byng forth for that purpose/
But that all these textys be so to be ta-
ken and vnderstande/ as they nothing
make agaynst þ church/ but all agaynst
your own oppynyon i thys mater. And

this haue ye sodenly answered your self
to all those textys owte of hand/ wyth a
glose of your own as trew as any text
in the byble/ and whyche all the worlde
wyl neuer aduoyde excepte they wold
make the scripture serue the church of
naught/ or rather to theyr hideraunce
then fortheraunce in the saythe. For so
were yt yf yt myght be/ þ god geueth
them not the good vnderstandynge ther
of/ but suffreth the to be deceyvd and
deluded in errors/ by the misse takynge
of the letter. ¶ Wary quod he thys is a
blynde mate in dede. ¶ Suerly quod
I these .ii. thyngys seme to me two as
trew poyntys & as playne to a chryste
man as any petycon of Euclidis geo-
metrys to a reasonable man. For as
trew as yt ys that euery hole thyng
ys moze then hys owne haife / as trew
is yt in dede/ and to euery chrylle man
sayth makyth yt as certeyne / I yst þ
Chrystys churche can not erre in any
such artycle as god vppō payn of losse
of heuyne wyl that wee byleue. And
thereuppon necessary folowyth/ that
there is no texte of scripture well vn-
derstanden/ by whyche chrystyn people
arn comaūdyd to do the thyng whych
the church beleuyth þ they may lefully
leue vndone/ no/ any text wherby we
be forbode any thyng/ whych þ church
beleueth that they may lafully do.

The xxii. chappter

¶ Bycause the messenger had in þ
bygynnyng shewed hym selfe de-
syrouse and gredey vppon the texe
of scripture wyth the lytle force of the
old fathers glosys/ & wyth dysprays
of phylosophy and almost all þ .viij.
lybetall sciences/ þ authoz therfore
incydently sheweth what harm hath
happed sumtyme fall to dyuerse of
those yong mē whō he hath known
to geue

to geue theyr study to the scripture
onely/ wythe contempte of Logyke
and other secular science/ and lytill
regarde of the olde interpretours.
wherefore the authoꝛ sheweth that
in the studye of scripture / the sure
way is wyth vertewe and prayour/
furste to vse the iuggement of na-
tural reason/ wherunto secular lyt-
terature helpyth mych/ And secōdly
the cōment of holy doctours/ And
thyrddly aboue all thyng the artycles
of the catholyque faythe receyvyde
and becleuyd thow the chyrch of
Criste.

And for because wee speke off
scripture now/ & y the churche
in thyngys nedely requyryte to salua-
cyon hathe the ryghte understandyng
of holy scripture/ wherein I perceyue
ye be studyouse of the text alone wyth
out great force of the old fathers inter-
pretaciōs or eny other scyēce/ of which
ye reken all. vii. saue gramer almost to
sarue for nought/ I haue of you so good
oppynyōn/ that I trust all your study
shall toꝛne you to good. But suerly I
haue sene to sum folk so mych harin to
grow therof/ that I neuer wold aduise
any man els in the studye of scripture
to take that way. Why so quod he.
¶ For I haue knowen q I ryght good
wytryrs that hath set all other lernynge
asyde/ partely for slooth refusynge the
labour and payne to be susteynyd in y
lernynge/ partely for pryde by whiche
they could not endure the rebargucyon
that shuld sometime fall to theyr parte
in dysprysons. whych affeccions theyr
inward secret fauoure toward the sel-
fys coueryd and cloked vnder the pre-
text of symplycyte/ & good cryste deu-
cyon bozne to y loue of holy scripture

alone. But in lytell whyle after y dāp-
nable spyryte of pryde y vnware to the
self loked in theyr hartes/ hath begon
to put oute hys hornys and shew hym
self. For then haue they longed vnder
the prayse of holy scripture to set oute
to the shewe theyr owne study. whiche
because they wolde haue sene the moze
to be set bye/ they haue furste fallen to
the dysprays and derysion of all other
dyscyplines. And because in spekyng
or prechyng of such commune thyngys
as all cryste men know/ they could not
seme excellent/ nor make it appere ad
seme y in theyr study they had don any
gret mastery to shew them self/ therfore
maruelouse/ they set out paradoxys ad
straung oppynyōns agaynst the comē
fayth of Cristys hole chyrche. And be-
cause they haue therin the old holy doc-
tours agaynst them/ they fall to the cō-
tempte and dysprays of them / cyther
preferrynge theyr owne fonde gloses
agaynst the olde cunnyng and blec-
syd fathes interpretaciōs/ or els lene
to some wordes of holy scripture that
seme to say for them/ agaynst many mo-
tortis that playnly make agaynst the/
wythout receyuyng or ere gyuyng to
any reason or authoꝛyte of any man
quykke or dede/ or of the hole chyrch of
Criste to the contrary. And thus onys
proudely parswaded a wronge waye/
they take the byddell in the teeth and
renne forthe lyke a hed stronge horse/
that all the worlde cannot pluk theym
bakke. But wyth lowynge sedycyon /
settyng forth of errours and heresyas/
and spryng theyr prechyng wyth re-
bukynge of pꝛesthod and pꝛelacye for
the peoples pleasure/ they turne many
a man to ruyne and theym selfe also.
And then the dyuell dysseyuyth them
in theyr blynde affeccions. They

f.

take

take for good zeale to the people theye
malycious enuy/ And for a great ver-
te in theye ardent appetite to preche/
wheriu they haue so gret pryde for the
peoples prayse/that prech I wene they
wold thogh god wold hys own mouth
commaund the contrary. ¶ Why shuld
ye wene so quod he/or whereby can ye
be sure that ye do not now misconster
theye good mynde: hard is it of tyme
to iuge an other mannyes dede & hath
sum apparēce of yuell/ because the pur-
pose and entente may make it good.
And whatt parell is it then where the
dede apperteyneth good/there to iuge the
mynde and entent for nought/ whych
who can se but god? As the scripture
saythe/ Dominus autem intuetur cor.
¶ Onely god beholdyth the harte. And
therfore sayth our sauyour iuge not be-
fore the tyme. ¶ I iuge not quod I but
vppon open thinge and well apparant.
For I speke but of those whose errony-
ous oppynions in theye prechyng/ ad-
theye obstynate pryde in the defence of
theye worldely wo:shyp well declaryth
theye myndys. And sum haue I sene
whyche when they haue for theye par-
tious prechyng bene by theye prelatys
prohybtyd to preche/haue that not w-
standyng proceeded on styll. And for &
mayntenaunce of theye dysobedience/
haue amēdyd the mater wyth a here-
sy/boldly and stubburnly defendyng/
that syth they had connyng to preche/
theye were by god bounden to preche/
And that no man nor no law that was
made or coud be made/had any autho-
ryte to forbide theym. And thys they
thought suffycently puyd by the wor-
d of thapostell/ Oportet magis obe-
dire deo quam hominibus. As though
these men were appostels now specyally
sent by god to preche heresies and sow

sedycyon amonge crysten men/as the
very appostels were in dede sente and
commaundyd by god/to preche his very
sayth to the iewes. One of thys sort of
thys new kynde of prechers beinge de-
maundyd why & he vsyd to say in hys
sermons about/that now a days men
prechyd not well the gospel/answered
that he thought so because he saw not
the prechers persecutyd/ nor no stryfe
nor bysynes arysse vppon theye prechig.
whyche thyngys he sayd ad wrote was
the frute of the gospel/ because Cryste
sayd/ Non veni pacem mittere sed gla-
dium. I am not come to send peace in
to the worlde but the sword. was not
thys a wo:shypfull vnderstandyng/&
because Cryste wolde make a deuision
among infidels/from the remanaunt
of them to wyne some/therfore these
appostels wolde sow some coke of dys-
sension among & cristen people/where
by Chyste might lese som of them: For
the frute of strife amonge the heretiks &
persecuciō of the precher cannot light-
ly grow among crysten menne/but by
the preching of some straunge newel-
ties/and bringyng vppon some new fā-
gell heresies to the infectiō of our olde
saythe. ¶ One wist I that was for hys
partinacie in that oppyniō/ & he wold
and might and was bounden to preche
any prohibicyon not wythstandyng/
when he was aftere dyuers bolde and
open defēce thereof at laste before folk
honorable & fewe/reasoned withall/ &
not onely the lawe shewed hym to the
contrary of hys oppynion/whyche law
was made at a generall coucell/but al-
so by playne authority of hollye scryp-
ture prouyd that hys oppinion was er-
ronyous/he so perceyued hym selfe sa-
tisfyed & he mekely knolegyd hys er-
roure/& offryd to abiure it & to submyt
hym

hym self to penaunce. But on the mo-
row when he cam forth in open p[re]s[en]ce
of the peple/ and there saw many that
had oft hard hym p[re]che/ of hys secrete
p[ry]de he fell in such an open passion of
shame/ that those shulde heere hym go
bak wyth hys worde whych had befoze
had hys sermons in grete estymacyō/
that at the fyrst syghte of the peple he
reuokyd hys reuocation and layd out
alowd that he myghte well be harde/ yf
hys oppynyon was trewe/ and that he
was y day befoze deceyuyd in that he
had confessed yt for false. And thus he
held hys own stubburly wythout rea-
son tyll the bookys were shewyd hym
agayn/ and him self red them befoze all
the peple/ so that he parreyuyd the au-
dyence that stode about hym to feele &
vnderstand hys proude foly in the de-
fence of hys indefensyble erroure. And
theruppon at the last yelde hym selfe
agayne. Suche secret p[ry]de had oure
gostely enemy conueyd in to the harte
of hym/ whych I ensueure you semyd in
all hys other outward maner as incke
a symple soule as a manne shuld haue
sene in a somers day. And some of the
let not wyth lyes and paryury to defēd
them self/ and some to stande in defēce
of theyre errours or false denyenge of
theyre owne dede/ to theyre great parell
of the fyre/ yf theyre iudges were nott
more marcyfull then theyre malycie des-
seruyth. And all thys doone because
(as them selfe doth at last cōfesse) they
thynke yf theyre abiure/ theye shall not
after be suffred to p[re]che agayn. Such
a scabbyd ych of rayn glozy catch they
in theyre p[re]chyng/ that though all the
world were the worse for yt and theyre
own lyfe lye thereon/ yet wold they lōg
to be pulpetyd. And thys I saye hathe
comen of sū that haue wyth contempt

To. rrr.

of all other lernyng geuen the to scryp-
ture alone. whose affectyons of p[ry]de
and slouth hath not in the begynnyng
bene parreyuid to them selfe/ but haue
accomptyd theyre bycs for deuocyon.
I wold ye then quod he condempne y
maner of study by whycha man hathe
so gret affectyon to y scripture alone/
that he for the delyte therof selyth lytle
sauoure in any thyng els/ but that we
shuld lese tyme in phylosophy the mo-
ther of heresy & let scripture alone.
I saye quod I that mynde am I not
of. There was neuer thyng wyten in
thys worlde that canne in any wyle be
cōparable wyth any parte of holy scrip-
ture. And yet I thynke other lyberall
seyence a gyfte of god also/ and not to
be cast away/ but worthy to wayte ad-
as handemaydys to gyue attendaūce
vppon diuinite. And of diuinite rekē
I the best parte to be cōteynyed in/ holy
scripture. And thys I say for him that
shall haue tyme thereto/ and frō youth
entendeth to the churche ward/ and to
make him self wyth goddys help mete
for thospyce of a p[re]cher. How beyt if a
ny man cyther happē to begyn so late/
y he shall paraduenture haue no tyme
thereto/ or els any mā of youth to haue
that feruent appetyte vnto scripture y
he cannot fynd in his hart to rede any
thyng els (whyche affectyon who so ha-
peth to haue gyuen him/ is very fortu-
nate if he w grace and meekenes gyde
it well) then wold I counsell him/ pes-
cyally to study for the vertuouse fra-
myng of hys owne affectyons/ and v-
synge greate moderacyon and tempe-
raunce in the p[re]chyng to other men.
And in all thyng to flee the desyre of
praysle and shew of cōnyng/ euer mys-
trustyng hys owne inclynacyons/ and
lyue in d[re]de and feare of the dyuylis

F. ii.

subtell

subtell slepyghte & inuencions. who though he lye in contynuall awayt vppon every p[re]chour to catch hym into pryde yf he can/ yet hys h[er]est enterpryse and proudest triumph standyth in y[is] byngyng of a m[an] to the most abuse of that thyng/ y[is] ys of hys own nature y[is] best. And therfore gret labour makyth he & grete bo[ur]den/ if he byngyng it aboute/ that a good wyrt may abuse hys labour bestowed vpp[on] the study of holy scripture.

For the sure auoydyng wherof/ my poo[re] aduyce were in y[is] study therof/ to haue a specyall regard to the wrytyng & cōmentys of olde holy fathers. And yet o[ther] he fall in hand wyth the tone o[ther] the tother next grace & helpe of god to be gotte w[ith] abstinence & prayour & clēnes of lyuig/ afo[re] all thing were it necessary to come well & surely cōstructyd in all such poyntys & artycles as y[is] church beleuyth. whych thyngys onys fynly had ad fastely for vndowtyd trouthes presupposyd/ then shall reson & they be two good rulys to examyne & expoun all doutfull textis by/ syth y[is] reder shall be sure that no texte ys so to be vnderstande as it standeth agaynst the both o[ther] agaynst any poynt of the catholyke sayth of Crystys church. And therfore yf yt seme to stand agaynst any of the/ eyther shall the lyght of naturall reason wyth the collacyō of other textys/ help to fynde out the truth/ o[ther] els (whyche is y[is] surest way) he shall p[re]cyeue y[is] trouthe in y[is] cōmētys of the good holy doctours of old/ to whō god hath gyuen y[is] grace of vnderstandyng. O[ther] finally if all y[is] he can ether fynde in other mēys wo[rd]s/ hys/ o[ther] inuent by goddys ayde of hys owne study/ can not suffice to satisfy/ but y[is] any text yet seme vnto hym contrary to any poynt of y[is] churchys sayth & belefe/ let hym then as saynt Augu-

styn sayth/ make hym selfe very sure y[is] there is some fault eyther in the trāslator/ o[ther] in the wryter/ o[ther] now a days i[n] y[is] p[re]nter/ o[ther] finally that for some one lett o[ther] o[ther] he vnderstandeth yt not a ryght. And so let hym reuerently knowlege hys ignorance/ lene & cleue to y[is] sayth of the ch[ur]ch as to an vndoutyd trothe/ leu[er] y[is] text to be beter parceyuyd whan it shall please our lord wyth his lyght to reuele & disclose it. And in this wyse shall he take for a sure way/ by whyche he shall be sure of one of two thyngys/ that ys to wyrt eyther to p[ar]ceue & vnderstād the scripture right/ o[ther] els at the lest wise neuer in such wise to take it wrong/ that euer may turne hys soule to perell.

The. xxiij. chapter

The messenger obiectyth agaynst the counsell of the autho[rities]/ in that he wold y[is] the studēt of scripture shuld lene to the cōmentours & vnto naturall reson/ whych he callyth enemy to sayth. And theruppon thanswere of the autho[rities] to those obiections/ specyally prouyng y[is] reason is seruant to sayth & not enemy/ & must with sayth & interpretacyon of scripture nedys be concurraunt.

It quod he I wyll not say naye but this way will do well. howbeit I fere me y[is] we were lykly to byld vp many errors/ if we square our tymber & stonys by these. iij. rulys/ mēys glosys/ reason/ and sayth not that we fynde in scripture/ but that we byngyng wyth vs to scripture. For furste as for the cōmentours that ys speke of/ ether they cōmentys tell vs the same tale that the texte doth/ o[ther] els a nother. If they tell me the same/ I beleue they mōny because the texte sayth the same.

and

¶ If they tell me a nother/ than beleue
 I them not at all noz nought I shulde/
 except I shuld beleue men better than
 god. And for as for reson/ what greter
 enemy can ye fynde to sayth thā reason
 is/ whych counterpledyth sayth in eue
 ry poynt. And wolde ye then send thē
 twayn forth to scolle to gether that can
 neuer agree to gether/ but bee redy to
 fyght to gether & eyther scratch out o-
 thers eyes by the waye? It seemyth also
 sumwhat strange/ that when god hath
 left vs in hys holy scripture well and
 suffycently hys doctryne / wherby he
 wold we shuld haue warnig of all such
 thyng as he wold we shuld beleue and
 do oꝛ leue vndone/ and hath left vs the
 scripture for none other cause but for
 þ yt shuld stād vnto vs for the wytnes
 of hys wyll declared vs by wytyng/ þ
 we shuld not say nay but we wer war-
 ned/ & nōe other cause why þ scripture
 shuld be gyuē vs but to tell vs hys ple-
 sure & styꝛ vs to fulfill it/ we shal now
 not shape our sayth after þ scripture/
 but furst frame vs a feyth our selfe/ & d
 thē shape the scripture of god therby/
 and make yt agree therto. Chys wer i
 dede a good easy waye for a slouthfull
 mason that wer an euyl work man to
 make him a squyer and a ruler of lede/
 that when he lyst not to take þ lobour
 to hewe the stone to the squyer he may
 bende the squyer to the stone/ and soo
 shal he yet bynge them to gedder at þ
 leste wayes. ¶ As for the olde cōmen-
 tours quod I they tell you þ same tale
 that the texte doth/ but they tell yt you
 more playne as we shal more talke of
 after. But surly ye begyld me now in
 that ye set reason so thorte. for verily
 I wold neuer haue went that ye wold
 in scripture lyke worlc a wyse mā thē
 an vnreasonable reder. Noz I cā not se

why ye shuld reken reason for an enemy
 to saythe / excepte ye reken euery man
 for your enemye that is youre better &
 hurteth you not. Thus wer oꝛ of your
 .v. wytyngs enemy to a nother. And our
 feling shuld abhorre our sight/ because
 we may se further by .iiii. myle thē we
 may se. How can reason (but yt reason
 be vnreasonable) haue moze dysdayne
 to here þ trouth of eny poynt of sayth/
 then to se the profe of many thyng. na-
 turall/ wherof reason cā no moze attayn
 to the cause/ then it can in the Artycle
 of the sayth. But styll for eny power þ
 reason hath to perceyue the cause/ she
 shall iuge it impossible after she proue
 it trew/ but if she byleue her eye better
 then her wytt. ¶ When ye se þ adamant
 stone drawe iren to it/ it greueth not re-
 ason to loke theron/ but reason hath a
 pleasure to beholde the thing that pas-
 seth her power to perceyue. For it is as
 playne agaynst the rule of reason that
 an heuy body shulde moue alone any o-
 ther moꝛyon then downward/ oꝛ that a
 ny bodely thyng shuld drawe a nother
 wythoute touchyng/ as ys any artycle
 of the sayth. Noz neuer was there yet
 cause by reason assigned that mē may
 perseyue for probable/ but only that it
 ys a secret properte of the stone/ which
 is as moch to say as I wot nere what.
 And yet as I saye reason can byleue þ
 thing well ynoughe/ and be not angry
 therwyth noz stryue agaynst yt. And
 yet all the rulys þ euer she lernyd tell
 her styll that it may not be/ ¶ If ye quod
 he but a manns own eye tell hym þ
 yt may be. & that must nedys contente
 hym. ¶ May a man then better truste
 hys eyes quod I thē hys wytt? Eye ma-
 ry q he/ what may he better trust then
 his eye? Chys eye may q I be decey-
 uyd & wene they se þ they se not if resō

grue ouer hys holde/ excepte ye thynk
 the iugler blow hys gallys through the
 goblettys bottom/ or cut your gerbell
 afore your face in .xx. pecys and make
 it hole agayn/ and put a knyfe into his
 eye and le neuer the worse/ And turne
 a plum into a dogge/ toyd into a boyes
 inouth. ¶ Now happenyd yt madly p
 euyn wyth thys worde cam one of my
 folke and askede whether they shulde
 make redy for dyner. ¶ Albyde quod I
 let vs haue better meate furste. And
 therwyth your frende and I began to
 laugh. ¶ Well quod I make none haste
 yet for a lytle whyle. And so wente hee
 hys waye halfe owte of countenaunce/
 wenyng that he had done or sayd sum
 what lyke a fole/ as he was one p was
 not very wyse in dede and wont soo to
 doo. And then sayd I to your frende.
 Now ye se that reason ys not so proud
 a dame as ye take her for. She seeth
 done in dede by nature that she can not
 perseyue how/ and ys well contentyde
 therewyth. She seeth a fonde felowe
 deceyue her syght and her wytt therw/
 and takyth yt well and meryly and ys
 not angry p p iougeler wyll not teche
 euery man hys craft. And wene ye the
 that she wyll take yt so helye that god
 hym self her master and maker shulde
 do what hym lyst/ & than tell her what
 & tell her not how? I pray you quod I
 that oure lord was borne of a byrgyn
 how know you? ¶ Mary q he by scryp
 ture. ¶ How know you quod I that ye
 shuld beleue p scripture? ¶ Mary q he
 by sayth. ¶ Why q I what doth saythe
 tell you therein? ¶ Faith quod he tellith
 mee that holy scripture ys thyngys of
 trouth wyten by the secret techyng of
 god. ¶ And wherby know you quod I
 that ye shuld beleue god? ¶ Wherby q
 he? thys ys a strange questyon. Euery

man q he may well wete that. ¶ That
 is troth quod I. But is there any hoys
 or any alle that wottyth that? ¶ None
 quod he that I wot of/ but yt Dalams
 alle any thyng vnderstode therof. For
 he spake lyke a good reasonable alle.

¶ If no brute best can wytt that quod
 I/ & euery man may/ what is the cause
 why that man may & other bestys may
 not? ¶ Mary quod he for ma hath resō
 & al they haue none. ¶ A well the quod
 I reason must he nedys haue then that
 shall perceyue what he shulde beleue.
 And so must reson not resyst sayth but
 walk wyth her/ & as her handmays so
 wayt vppō her/ that as contrary as ye
 take her/ yet of a trouth sayth goth ne-
 uer wythout her. But lykewyle as if a
 mayd be suffred to ronne on the bydle
 or be cup shoten or wax to proude/ she
 wyll then wax copious and chop logyk
 wyth her mastres/ & fare sometyne as
 she were frātyk/ so if reason be suffred
 to ren out at ryot & wax ouer hys har-
 tyd & proude/ she wyll not fayle to fall
 in rebellyō toward her mastres sayth.
 But on p other syde if she be well by-
 ough by a well gydyd and kept i good
 temper/ she shall neuer disobey saythe
 beyng in her right mīde. And therfore
 let resō be well gyded/ for surely sayth
 goth neuer wythout her.

¶ Now in the study of scripture/ i de-
 uysyng vppon the sentence/ in confy-
 deryng what ye rede/ in ponderyng p
 purpose of dyuers cōmentys/ in cōpa-
 ryng to gether dyuers text/ that seme
 cōtrary and be not/ albeyt I deny not
 but that grace & goddys especyall help
 ys the grette thyng theryn/ yet vlyt he
 for an instrument mannys reson ther-
 to. God helpyth vs to ete also/ but yet
 not wythout our mouth. ¶ Now as the
 hand ys the moze nyinble by the vse of
 sum

foun feates / & the legges and fete more
 fwyft and fure by the cuftum of going
 and rennyng / & the hole body the more
 wplyd & lufte by fome kynde of exercyfe
 / fo ys yt no doute but that reafon
 ys by fudy / labour & exercyfe of Lo-
 gyk / Phylofophy & other lyberall art
 collaborate and quykkenyd / and the
 iugemēt both in them and alfo in oꝛa-
 tours / laws & ftoꝛys mych rpyd. And
 albeyt poettys ben wyth many men ta-
 ken but foꝛ payntyng woꝛdys / yett doo
 they moch help the iugement & make a
 mā amōg other thigis well furnyſhed
 of one ſpecyall thyng / wout whych all
 lernynge ys half lame. ¶ What is that q
 he? ¶ Mary q I a good mother wytt.
 And therfoꝛe ar i myne oppynyō theſe
 Lutherans in a mad mynde / y wold
 now haue all lernynge ſaue ſcripture
 onely clene caſt away. whych thyngys
 (yf the tyme wyll ſerue) be as me thyn-
 keth to be taken and had / & with reſon
 bzought as I ſayd befoꝛe into the ſer-
 uyce of dryuynge. And as holy ſeynte
 Hierom ſayth / The Ebyes welle dyſ-
 poyle the Egypcyens / when cryſtys ler-
 nyd men take out of the paganie wyſ-
 ters the ryches and lernynge & wyſdom
 that god gaue vnto them / & employe y
 ſame in the ſeruyſe of dryuynge about
 the pꝛofyte of goddys choſyn chyldern
 of Iſrael the chyꝛch of Cryſt / whych he
 hath of the harde ſtony paynims made
 the chylderne of Abraham.

The. xxiij. chapyter

¶ The meſſenger makethe obieccy-
 ons agaynſte the authoꝛ / in that he
 counceyled the ſtudent of ſcripture
 to brynge thartycles of our faythe
 wyth hym foꝛ a ſpecyall rule to con-
 ſter the ſcripture by. And y authoꝛ
 confyrmythe hys counſayle geuen
 in that byhalfe / declarynge y wyth

fo. xxiij.

out that rule / men may ſone fall in
 to greate errours in y ſtudy of holy
 ſcripture.

¶ yth this your frende held as
 he ſayd hym ſelfe ſomewhat
 cōtet that reaſon was not ſo

greate an enemy to fayth as ſhe ſeinyd.
 But yet he thought that he ſhuld haue
 nede rather to be well brydelyd / thā to
 bere much rule in y interpretacyon of
 ſcripture. But as foꝛ y tother poynt y
 we ſhulde nedys brynge the fayth wyth
 vs all redy / as a rule to lerne the ſcryp-
 ture by / whē we come to the ſcripture
 to lerne the faythe by / that he thought
 in no wyſe conuenient / but a thyng he
 ſayd which like as if we wold go make
 the cart to draw the hoꝛſe. ¶ Well quod
 I wee ſhall ſee anon whether the carte
 drawe the hoꝛſe oꝛ the hoꝛſe the carte.
 Oꝛ whether we be yet hapely ſo blinde
 that we ſe not well which is the carte.
 which is the hoꝛſe. ¶ Firſte quod I tell
 me how olde wolde ye y one were ere
 he come to y ſtudy of ſcripture. ¶ By
 my faythe he. I wolde haue a chryſten
 mannyſ child begyn therein very yōg /
 and therein contynue all his lyfe. ¶ In
 good fayth quod I y lyke I not amys /
 ſo that ye doo not mene that ye wolde
 haue him all his life lerne nothing els:
 And yet that could I ſuffer to & allow
 ryghte well in ſome. But yet if he did
 neuer in his life lerne oughte els / how
 olde think ye that he ſhuld be oꝛ he ler-
 ned the articles of his belefe in y bible?
 ¶ I can nott redely tell quod he / foꝛ I
 haue not ſene it aſſayed. ¶ Well quod I
 ſith we be not ſure how long it wolde
 be in lernynge there / were it not beſte
 then y foꝛ y whyle he were taught hys
 crede before in his own mother tonge?
 ¶ I demie not y q he / y he ſhuld conne
 hys crede byfoꝛe / becauſe euery chryſte
 mannyſ

mannys chylde by the law shuld know
hys fayth as sone as he coud/ but I say
he shuld not therewith take vppon hym
to iudge and examyne holy scripture
therby. ¶ Well quod I let thys crysten
chylde of ours alone for a while. And
let vs cōsider yf there were a good old
ydolater that neuer had hard in all his
lyfe any thyng of our belefe or of other
god the only the man in þe mone/ who
he had watched ad wozshypped euery
frosty night. If thys mā myght sodely
haue þe hole byble turned into his own
tong & rede yt ouer/ thynke ye that he
shuld therby lerne all the artycles of þe
fayth? ¶ I thynk quod he yf he myght.
¶ Thik ye so q I put case þe bele-
uyd þe all þe boke were lyes? ¶ Mary q
he that may he by þe boke hym self lerne
þe cōtrary. For the boke in tellyng hys
tale affyrmyth hys tale & techyth yt to
be trew. ¶ Ye say very trothe quod I if
yt were all one to rede a thyng & lerne
a thyng. But now myght there be an
other boke made also wyth lesse won-
ders & fewer & therby lesse vnklykly/ ad
yett all vntrewe. And how shuld hys
mynde geue hym than that thys boke
tellyng so incredible wonders shuld be
trew? ¶ Ray quod he that thyng must
he nedys beleue or els he can perceyue
nothyng. ¶ Well quod I then is there
one poynt of fayth one gret lessō to be
lernyd without the boke/ that must be
lernyd sum where ether by god or mā/
or els þe hole boke wyll do vs lytyll ser-
uice. And of whom we shall lerne that/
we shall se herafter. But now suppose
that thys olde ydolater were thozouly
perswadyd in hys mynd þe all the boke
were trew/ thynk you thā that he shuld
fynd out thereyn all the artycles of our
fayth? ¶ I thynk quod he that he shuld
¶ Thynk ye so q I beyt so than. But

thynk ye that he shall fynde them oute
all in a weke? ¶ Ray quod he yf can he
not do. ¶ Well quod I than sith he shall
not at the lest wyse fynde them out all
on a day/ let vs leue hym a lytyll while
in sekynge/ & we shall retozne agayn af-
ter to hym and loke what he shall haue
founded. And in the meane season we
shall go loke agayn vppon oure good
lytell god so the boy parde þe we cryste-
ned ryght now & taught hym his crede
& sett hym to scripture. were it nede þe
thys chylde knew no more of hys fayth
but his crede before he go to scripture?
¶ We thynketh quod he that yt were y-
noughe. ¶ Be it so than quod I.
¶ Whatt yf yt shoulde fortune hym to
fynde some text of scripture that shuld
seme to him to be cōtrary to his crede.
As for ensample yf he happened vppō
the redyng of thes wordys/ Dis estis &
filij excelsi omnes/ Goddys be ye all &
the chyldern of the hye god. what yf he
wolde wene that syth in thes wordys
it ys sayd all good mē be the chyldern
of god/ oure sauour Cryste were not
goddys onely begoten sonne/ but hys
sōne in such wyse as god by þe prophet
callyth all good men? ¶ That coud he
not thynke q he. For he shuld in other
partes of scripture fynd many placys
þe shuld shew hym well the contrary.
¶ Well sayd quod I & very truth. But
now in the mene tyme wyll ye that he
shal beleue as þe text shall seme to sou-
nd to hym agaynst hys crede tyll he haue
found a nother texte in scripture that
answeryth yt & secynyth to hym to saue
more playnly þe cōtrary? ¶ Ray quod
he not one houre. For he seeth/ yf thogh
other good men be callyd goddys chyl-
dern & goddys/ yet as they be not very
goddys/ so be they not goddys very na-
turall chyldern by generacyon but by
accep-

Fo. xxiii.

acceptacyon/where as the crede sayeth
of our sauour/that he is goddes one
ly bygotten sone/that sygnifyeth him
to be hys sone by generacyon. ¶ That
is quod I very trew and well and reso
nably consyderyd/ and accoꝝdyng vnto
to the very ryght fayth. But now con
syder that ye make hym by and by fall
to the squaryng of his stones lyke that
slowthfull mase that ye spake of wyth
hys leden rule. For now ye make hym
to examyne the trowth of thys texte of
the psalme by the artycle of the faythe/
whyth he brought wyth hym/and by a
colleccio and discourse of reason. And
so forthwyth ye finde both these rules
necessarie to the discussio of scripture.
¶ Of whyth twayne ye wolde in the by
gynnyng admit nether nother. ¶ But
now goo ferther. what yf he wolde vp
pon thys texte/homines & iumenta sal
uabis deus/God thou shalt saue both
men and bestys/wene that bestys had
imortall soules as menne haue/and
that mā and beste shuld be both saued
at laste/and so yf no dedely synne shuld
be ponyshed wyth euerlastyng payne/
till he cam to other textys that shulde
proue well the contrarye/were yf beste
oꝝ ellys were it better that bysde hys
crede he had knowlege bifoꝝe of these
artycles of our feythe/that onely oure
soules be in mortall and not bestys al
so/And that yf payne of hell shalbe foꝝ
synners euer lastyng/And that he may
therby wyth reason ioyned therto/per
ceyue that this text/Thou shalt saue
bothe men and bestys/is mente by som
other kinde of sauing and preseruyng
here in thys world/and not of bryng
yng both to heuen. ¶ All thys may he
know quod he by scripture selfe well I
nough. ¶ That wot I well q. I. And
yet as playne as chrisse spekech of hell

i the gospel/ Origene foꝝ all y/ which
neyther uas a naughty mā noꝝ vnles
ned in scripture/could not so clerly se
it but that he sayed the contrary. And
toke the wordes of Chrysste in a wꝛōg
sense. And wolde perauenture wyth
one that wolde stykke onely vppon y
the wordys of scripture leuyng y right
sense therof/whyth god and hys holly
spryt hath taught his churche/bryng
hym to a baye therin/that he shuld be
fayne not our chylde onely/but also a
well elderly man and in scripture well
foꝝwarde/to take hym in conclusyon
to y fayth of Chrysstys church. ¶ Now
if our childe sholde rede on the texte of
scripture wythout care of the commē
tis/and wythout enny further enstuc
cyon of the poyntis of our faythe than
be specyfyd in our commē crede/made
in the begynnyng as a bꝛefe remēbrans
by the appostellys/not lettynge out in
so short a thyng and clerly declaring
all that we be bounden to beleue/albe
it y he shuld well finde in scripture ma
ny playne and open textys wherby y
godhed of our saurour and his egaly
re w his father may well & suffyently
be prouyd/yet were he not vnlykly by
such other textys as seme to shew hym
to be lesse then his father/to fall into y
sect and heresy of y Arryanys. And a
gayn. If those other textys prouyng his
egall godhed/to deuyse such false glo
rys as they did/where as being befoꝝe
taught and confyrmēd by the fayth of
y chꝛych y our sauour is one god and
one egall substance w his father/shall
well perceyue and vnderstand therby/
y all y textis y seme to make him lesse/
be nothyng to be vnderstanden of hys
godhed but of his manhod onely. As
when we comenly speke of our self ad
of our owne nature/and say wee shall
dye

byc & woymys etc vs bpp & turne all to
 dust. we mene all thys by our body oly
 and nothyng entend thereby to denye
 the immortalyte of our soule. we may
 not dyne to day yf I shulde reken you
 the tenth parte of such thyngys as we
 muste nedys vppon losse of heuyn by
 leue/whyche neyther oure chylde wyth
 hys only crede/and mych lesse our olde
 idolater wythout crede shuld so finde
 oute by scrypture/but that they were
 bothe well lykely to take the scrypture
 to the wꝛong parte/excepte we take w
 vs for a rule of interpretacyon the arti
 cles of our fayth.

The. xxv. chapter

The authour takyng occasyō bp
 pō certayn wordes of the messēger/
 declareth p̄ preeminence/ necessity/
 and profite of holy scrypture/ shew
 ynge nathelasse that many thyngys
 haue bene taught by god wythoute
 wytyng. And many great thyngs
 so remaine yet vnwyrtten of crew
 thys necessarye to be beleued. And p̄
 the new law of Chryste is the law so
 wyrtten in the hart/that yt shall ne
 uer out of hys chyrche. And that the
 law there wyrtten by god/is a right
 rule to interpret the wordis writte
 in hys holy scrypture. whych rule w
 reason and the olde interpretours/
 the authoꝝ sheweth to be p̄ very sure
 waye to wade wythe / in the greate
 streame of holy scrypture.

Sy than quod he thys were
 w as myche to say/as that god
 had not well wyrtten his ho
 ly scrypture/if he haue caused yt to be
 wyrtten so/as men may be so sone de
 ceuyed therin/that they were as likely
 and (as it semyth by you) moꝛe likely
 to fall in to a false wey thā fynde out p̄
 crew. And better were yt thā that god

hade not geuen vs the scripture at all/
 than to gyue vs a way to walke / wher
 in we were moꝛe lykely to synke than
 saue our self. Holy scripture quod I/
 bothe is such as I haue sayed/and yet
 nothing followeth it theruppon/ that
 god hath not caused it to be wyrtten
 well/ oꝛ that it had bene better to haue
 kepte it froime vs. And albe it p̄ in this
 poynte were a great occasyō of a long
 tale/in declarpyng and making open p̄
 god hath in p̄ wytyng of holy scripture
 vsede so hygh wysedome and shewed
 such a wonderfull temperaunce/p̄ the
 very straunge famylpate fashyon ther
 of/inay to good mē and wyse well de
 clare/that as it was wyrtten by mē /so
 was it indyted by god/yet passig ouer
 the prayse I will speke one worde oꝛ
 twayne for p̄ answer of suche blame as
 ye lay therto. For it is almost a comen
 thyng among men so to speke sūtyne
 as though they could aimed the woꝛkis
 of god. And few men be there I wene
 but they thynke p̄ yf they had beene of
 goddys cōuncell in the makyng of the
 woꝛld/though they dare not be so bold
 to say p̄ they could haue made it beter/
 yet yf theye myghte haue ruled yt/hee
 shulde haue made many thyngys of a
 nather fasshon. And for all p̄ if he wold
 yet call vs all to counsell/and chaunge
 nothyng till wee were vppon euery
 thyng all agreed/p̄ woꝛld were well lik
 ly till domys day to go forth on as yt
 goth all redy/laug p̄ I wot nere whe
 ther we wolde all agree to be wynged.
But as for p̄ scrypture shortly god
 hath so deuysed it/that he hath geuyn
 the woꝛld therin ā inestimable treisūre
 as the case standeth. And yet we shuld
 happely nothyng haue neded therof if
 p̄ woundes of our own folp had not of
 oure greate necessitye & goddys greate
 goodnes

goodnes requyred it. For at oure crea-
 tion he gaue but two precept or thre
 by hys own holy mouth to our fyrst pa-
 rentys. And as for all þ was for theym
 to do bysde/the reason whiche he had
 planted i theyre soules gaue them suf-
 ficient warnyng/wherof þ hole some
 stode in effecte/in the honoure of god &
 goddys frendys/ wyth loue of eche to
 the other and to theyre offspryng and
 linage. But the preceptis þ he gaue by
 mouth was thre. The wayne cōmaūdig
 generacion and etyng/ þ thyrð forbe-
 dyng the tre of knowlege. And þ was
 for them contynuall/where the tother
 wayn albe it they were therto boundē
 by the precepte/yet were not they and
 theyre posterite bounden therto at all
 owers and all placis. But nede was it
 in the beginning to gyue theym know-
 lege therof/for as much as they had no
 hunger to warne theym of þ tone/noz
 sensuall rebellyouse appetite to warne
 theym of the tother. But after þ they
 were by god onis admonished therof/
 thā dyd reason enterprete þ rēnaunt/
 wherby they wyte þ they shuld etc for
 conseruacyon of theyre bodies/and in-
 gender for pōpagaciō of theyr kinde.
 And syth they perceyued that these .ii.
 thigys was thēd & ētent of those com-
 maundement/they therby cōsequent-
 ly knew whan it was tyme and place
 & occasyō cōuenient to fullfyll theym.
 But whan they had onys at þ subtell
 swaspon of the deuyll/brokē the thyrð
 commaundement in tasyng þ forbedē
 fruyt/theyng than expelled out of para-
 dise/than cōcernyng theyre foode and
 engenderinge/not oly reaso ofte shew-
 ed theym what was honeste & pōfyta-
 ble /but also sēsuallite what was beste-
 ly and plesaunte/whiche sensuallite la-
 boyed so bysly to cause man to lett by

f. xxviii

delyte aboue good and conueniente/þ
 for the resyltence therof it then-bycau-
 to be the spyrytuall bysynesse & occupa-
 tion of man /so to preserue and bring
 vp the body /þ it were not suffered to
 maister þ soule/and so to rule & bydell
 sensuallite/þ it were subiecte and obe-
 dyent vnto reason/as god wylled the
 woman to be subiecte and obedyent
 of man. wherin god wolde þ we were
 lerned rather to suffer our sēsuall ptyes
 playne and moze/thā to folow theyr
 own hurte & owers to. As it had bene
 better for oure father Adam & vs all/
 that he had suffered hys wyffe our mo-
 ther Eue /to be sad and angry bothe &
 lyke a womā to weepe to/than to haue
 eten thapple for felethype to please her
 wythe all. Now dyd all the syn anon
 springe vp for the moze parte vppon þ
 occasyon of fedyng and ēgenderyng.
 wherof spronge couptouse /gloteny/
 slouth/wroth/& lechery. And many ty-
 mes pryde & ēue as one /perceyuyng
 hym selfe in these thyngys in better cō-
 dyced or woze thā a nother/so bygan
 to cōceyue a lettynge by hym selfe /nō-
 tōtempte of other or ēue & hatered to
 soine other (lauyng þ pryde sometime
 also sprang out of the soule) & so liked
 it selfe þ it ēuyed the better as Cayne
 dyd Abell/& for to be the moze set by/
 pryde lōged superfluously to get by co-
 uetyse & gredynes many folkys luy-
 gys in hys own hādes /to make other
 folkys serue hym & honour & hāge vpon
 hym for necessite. And of all these
 wyschiettes was alway sēsuallite redy
 to mynyster mater / & by all the dorys
 & windous of the body by felyng/tas-
 tig/snellig/syght & heeryng/ceased ne-
 uer to sēde in occasyōs to þ soule/nor
 þ deuyll neuer ceacyd for hys parte dy-
 lygetly to put for ward. Agaynst whō
 dyd

did reaſo reſiſte/ wyth good counſayle
geurn to þ ſoule/ & good ſpirt appoynt
ed by god / gaue theyr helpe alſo/ and
god aſſyſted wyth hys arde and grace
where he founde the perſon wyllynge
to worke ther wyth. And i this maner
continued man long tyme/ not wyth
oute reuelacyō of Chryſte onys to cu.
whyche ſaythe delyuered to the father/
went by mouth to the ſonne/ And ſo
frō chyld to chyld herd and byleued
among theym. And what ſo were god
dys pleaſure byſyde / that nature and
reaſon could not playnly ſhew theym/
god of his goodnes by ſpeciall meſage
gaue theym vndouted knowlege as he
did to Moſe / Loth and Abraham/ and
diuerſe other/ wherof ſome be ſynnys
wrytten and compyled i ſcripture/ & of
lykelyhed not all. ſo; well probable is
it that þ patryarkys in dyuerſe thinge
that they dyd/ as in theyre dyuerſe ma
tyagys and ſum ſuch other thyngys as
than were by theym well done ſo; the
tyme/ were to them appoynted ſpecial
ly by god ſo; cauſys well knowene to
hym ſelfe and vnknewen to vs / and þ
thyngys now forbeden vs and therfore
to vs vnlefull/ excepte goddys lyke o;
dinaunce o; diſpenſacyon ſhulde heraf
ter in generall o; peptyculer be reueled
to the contrary. ¶ But ſo was yt after
that the worlde waxynge worſe/ ryght
good and vertuouſe linagys declyned
and decayed. And by the the lewde cō
uerſacyon of euyll people fell by dyſo;
der in ſuche a blyndnes/ þ albe it ſome
were there alway that perceyued well
theyre dute/ yet were þ cōmen people
of þ chyldern of Iſraell by cuſtome of
ſyn ſo darked in theyre naturall know
lege/ that they lacked in many thingys
the ryght perceyuyng / that reaſo (had
it not bene by euyll cuſtōe corrupted)

might verily well haue ſhewed theym.
ſo; þ remedy wherof god of hys end
leſſe mercy / by the law wrytten wyth
his own figer vnto Moſes i þ tables
of ſtone/ by the .x. cōmaundementys/
put in remēbezaunce agayne certeyne
cōcluſyons of the law of nature/ which
theyre reaſon (ouerwhelmed wyth ſen
ſualtyte) had than forgotten. And to
thende that they ſhuld kepe his biheſt
þ better / he gaue theym a greate hepe
of the lawes and cerymoneys inoo / to
kepe theym in ſtrayte ſo; ſtraynge a;
brode in ryot. And wroughte greate
wonders that they ſhulde well le that
thoſe thyngys were hys owne deede /
wherby they myght haue þ moze d;ede
to tranſgreſſe them. And there in wry
tyng he gaue a waxyng alſo of cryſt/
that god wolde onys ſend them ſpyn
gynge of them ſelfe/ to whom they ſhuld
gyue helynge in ſtede of Moſes. Of
whō alſo as well befoze as after by Pa
ttryarkes and prophetyſ/ by fygyres &
prophelyſ/ god ceaced not i ſuch wiſe
to foreſhew hys cummyng/ hys cauſe/
hys lyuyng/ hys deyng/ hys reſurreccy
on and hys holy actys/ that yf pryde &
enuy had not letttyd it/ the fygyrys ad
prophelyſ ſet & comparyd wyth hys
cummyng/ conuerſacyon & doyngeſ/
myghte well haue made all the Jewes
to know hym. And ſo; the perceyuyng
and good vnderſtandyng of the lawe
wryten/ he ſent alway ſum good men/
whoſe wordys/ well lyuyng/ and ſum
tyme alſo manyfeſte myracles ſhewed
ther wyth/ neuer leſt them deſtytute of
ſufficyent knolege that lōgyd to lern
the lawe. Not to plete it and ſo; glozy
to dyſpute itt/ but to teche ytt agayne
mekely. And as mannys fraylte could
ſuffer it/ ſpecyally to fulfyll & kepe it.
¶ Yet after all thys whē the world was
in a

in a moze decay & ruyne of all vertew/
than ca our sauour Cryste to redeme
vs w hys deeth/ & leue vs hys new law/
wherof was long before propheticd by
the prophete Hieromy. Lo the days be
comyng sayth our lord/ whā I shall oꝝ
der & dyspose to the house of Israel & y
house of Iuda/ a new couenaūt oꝝ tel-
tament. I shall gyue my law in theyꝝ
myndys. And I shall wyte yt in theyꝝ
hart. & I wyll be theyꝝ lord & they shall be
my people. This law wyte in mēys
hartys/ was accordyng to y woꝝdys of
the pphet fust brought by our sauour
to y house of Israel & y house of Iuda
to whō as hym self sayth he was specy-
ally sent. I am not lēt sayth our lord
but vnto y shepe y are peryshyd of the
house of Israel. And also he sayd it ys
not good to take y byede fro y boꝝde of
y chyldeꝝ & cast yt to dogg. But yet
not onely the redy to wardnes of sum
other causid the to be partetakers of y
byede/ but also sone after y stubbernes
& obstynate infydelyte of y iewes/ cau-
syd seynt poule & thapostels to lay vn
to their face/ The gospell of Cryst was
oꝝdenyd by god to be fust pꝛechyd vn
to you. But syth yꝝ refuse yt/ Lo we
depart frō you to the gentyls. And so
was in theyꝝ stede the chyrch gatheryd
of all the woꝝld abrode. All whych not
wythstandyng both were there at that
tyme out of y Iewes couertyd & made
many a good crysten man/ & manye of
y same peple turnyd vnto Cryst syns/
& in conclusyō the tyme shall cū/ whē y
reinnaūt y shall be than leste/ shall saue
them selfe by the same saythe. This ys
callyd the law of Crystis sayth/ the law
of hys holye gospell. I mene not onely
the woꝝdys wyten in the bokys of his
euangelists/ but mych moze specyally
y substantiaunce of our sayth yt self/ whych

our lord sayd he wolde wyte in men-
nys hartys/ not onely because of the se-
crete operacyon of god & hys holy spy-
ryte/ in iustifyēg the good cryste ether
by the woꝝkig with mānys good wyll/
to the pfectyon of sayth in his soule/ oꝝ
wyth the good intent of the offerers to
the secret infusyon of that vertew into
the soule of an innocēt infant/ but also
foꝝ y he fust wythout wytyng reueled
thoie heuēly mysteryes by hys blessed
mouth thoꝝow the crys of hys apostels
& dyscyples to theyꝝ holy hartys. And
by them in lyke maner/ fust wythout
wytyng by onely woꝝdys & pꝛechyng
so spꝛedde yt abrode in the woꝝld/ that
hys saythe was by the mouthys of hys
holy messengers put into mēnys crys/
and by hys holy hande wyten in men-
nys hartys oꝝ euer eny woꝝde thereof
almoste was wyten in the boke. And
so was it conuenyēt foꝝ the law of lyfe/
rather to be wyten in the lyuely myn-
dys of men/ than in the dede skynnyngs
of bestys. And I nothyng dowt but
all had ytt so beene/ that neuer gospell
had bene wyten/ yet shoulde the sub-
staunce of this saythe neuer haue fal-
len oute of chrysten folkys hartys/ but
the same spyryte that plantyde yt/ the
same shulde haue wateryd it/ the same
shulde haue kepte yt/ the same shoulde
haue encreased yt. But so hath yt ly-
ked oure lord after hys hye wyldome
to prouyde that some of his dyscyples
haue wyten many thingys of his holy
lyfe/ doctryne and sayth/ and yet farre
from all/ which (as saynt Iohn sayth)
the woꝝld coude not haue comprehē-
hyd. These bokis ar tēpꝛyd by the
secrete coucell of the holy gost so playn
and synple/ that eueri man may fynd
in theym that he may parceyue. And
yet so highe agayne and so harde that
no man

no mā ys there so connyng but he may
fynde in thei thyngys farr aboue hys
reche/farre to profound to perce vnto.
Now were to þ cristen peple the poyntys
of Crist sayth (wyth wythch poyntys
our lord wold haue them chargyd)
known as I say and plantyd before/
and by reson therof they farr the better
vnderstode those bok. And all thogh
there myghte happely be some textys/
wythch were not yet of necessity for the
to perceyue/yet by the poynt of theyr
sayth were they warnyd/that no texte
myghte there be constrewyd contrary
to theyr sayth. And none Euāgelyst
was there nor none Appostle / that by
wyrtynge euer sent the sayth to eny na-
cyon/ but yf they were furst enformyd
by worde/and that god had begon his
church in þ place. And for my parte
I wolde lytell dout/ but that the euan-
gelystys and appostels bothe/ of many
gret and secrete mysteres spake much
more openly & much more playnely by
mouth amōg the peple than euer they
put yt i wyrtynge/for as much as theyr
wyrtynngys were lykly ynough at that
tyme/ to come into the handys of paga-
nys & paynyms/ such hoggys & doggys
as were not metely to haue those pety-
ous perlys put vppon theyr nose/nor
that holy foode to be dallyd in theyr
teeth. For wythch cause saynt Peter in
hys furste sermon vnto the Jewes/ab-
staynyd fro the declaracyon of Cristis
godhed & egalytee wyth hys father/as
our sauour him self (when the Jewes
þ were vnworthy to here yt/were offe-
dyd wyth that he told them playnly þ
he was the sonne of god) wythdrewe þ
doctryne from them agayn/a coueryd
yt wyth the verse of þ prophete/I haue
sayd ye be goddys & sonnys of the hye
god all/as thogh he wolde say/ what

greuyth it you that name in me/which
name god by þ prophete hath gyuen to
all good men. In which demeanure he
denyed not the trowth þ he had sayd of
him self/ but he blyndyd theyr wyllfully
wyntnyng eyes/ i hydyng & puttyng vp
agayn the rewell þ he began to bynge
forth & shew the. the bygh luster wher
of theyr blynd eyes myght not endure
to behold. And what marucl thogh
thappostels thus did in theyr speche a-
foze infydels/or wyrtynge þ myghte cū
into pagans hādys/whan it appereth
vppon the epistels of saynt Poule that
amōg the cristen flok wher he taught
thē by mouth/he told thē not all þ tro-
thys at one tale/ nor oly for þ yt were
to lōg/ but also for þ in the begynnyng
they could not happely well abyden yt.
And therfore as Criste sayd to his dys-
cyples/I haue more to say to you/ but
ye be not able to here yt yet/whyche or-
nys appereth what tyme þ vppon þ dys-
cloyng of the grette mystery of the holy
sacrament the holy flesch of hys body/þ
herers sayd who can abyde thys harde
worde/a therw wente almost all theyr
waye/so did saynte Poule I say by the
Corinthians not teche thē all at onys.
And therfore he sayth in hys epistle to
them/I haue geuen yow hetherto but
mylk & not strōg mete. And wysdome
speke we (sayth he) amōg folk þ be par-
tyt. Nor I mene not this þ there were
eny poyntys of the substance of þ sayth
wythch he shewyd to þ clargy þ he kept
fro the lay people/or shewyd vnto one
man þ he kept fro a nother/ but þ to no
mā lyghtly he shewyd all at onys. But
becausē sum cā fro the Jewes and sum
cā of þ gentyls/therfore as they were
so were they hādelyd/ not oly by grace
but also by wysdome. & not only in the
poyntys of þ sayth/ but also in þ rytys
and

Jo. xxi. vi.

and ceremonies/eyther of the churche
or of Moyses lawe. whereof some ce-
remonyes were forthwyth abolyshed/
some nott by and by/and some taken
i to the church of Cryste and obseru'd
styl. But in conclusiō when they were
mete therfore/they were all taughte/
all that god wold haue them bounden
to beleue. And than dout I nothyng/
But y many thyngis that now be very
darke in holy scripture/were by thap-
postels (to whō oure lord openyd theyr
wyttys y they myght vnderstand scrip-
ture) so playnly declaryd/y they were
by the people well and clerely vnder-
stāden. I say not all the hole scripture/
in whych it may be that many a secrete
mystery lyeth yet coueryd cōcernynge
the comyng of Antecriste/a y day ma-
ner & tassyon of the fynall iudgement.
whych shall neuer be fully dysclo-
syd tyll the tymys appoyntyd by goddys
hys prouydence mete & conuenient for
them. And from tyme to tyme as yt ly-
keth hys maieste to haue thyngys kno-
wen or done in hys chyrche/so ys yt no
dout but he temperyth hys reuelacyōs
& in such wyse doth insumate & inspyre
them into the bycrys of hys crysten pe-
ple/that by the secrete instynct of the
holy gost/they consent and agre to ge-
ther i one/except heretykys that rebel
and refuse to be obedyent to god & his
chirch. who be therby cut of fro y liuely
tre of that vyne/and waxing withered
braunches/be kept but for the fire furst
here & after in hell/except they repent &
call for grace that may graft them into
the stok agayne. But as it may be that
many thyngys be there not all at onys
reueyld & vnderstāden in y scripture/
but by lōdy tymys & agys mo thyng
and mo by god vnto hys chyrch dysclo-
syd/and that as yt shall lyke hys hygh

goodnes & wysdome to dyspence and
dyspose/so in thyngys to be done may
fall in hys chyrche varyete mutacyon &
chaunge/so am I very sure that the ho-
ly goste that god sent into hys chyrch/ &
Criste hym self that hath promysyd vnto
to the ende of the worlde to perseuer and
abyde in hys church/ shall neuer suffer
hys catholyk chyrch neyther to agree to
the makynge of any law that shall be to
god dampnably dyspleasūt/nor of eny
trewth that god wolde were beluyd to
determyne or beleue the contrary. For
than had Cryste whych ys all trouthe/
broken hys promyse/and (whych were
blasphemys & abhomyable to thynk)
were waxe vntrew. And therfore ouer
thys as it may be that as I sayd before
some thyngys in holy scripture be not
yet fully perceyvd and vnderstande/
so am I very sure that the chyrch ney-
ther doth nor can do dāpnably con-
ster yt wrong. whych yt shuld yf they shuld
conster yt so as yt shuld make an arty-
cle of mylbeliefe and of a false errony-
ous faythe. As yf they shulde by myl-
construccyō of the scripture byng vp
and beleue/that Cryste were one god
and egall wyth hys father and wyth y
holy goste/yf y trouthe were otherwyse
in dede. And therfore syth the chyrche
in whych Cryste ys assy stente and hys
holy spyryte/cānot to goddes displea-
sure and theyre dampnacyō fall in any
false beleefe in eny suche substauncyall
poynte of the fayth/yt muste nedys be
therfore/that Arius and all other he-
retykes be drowned in dampnable er-
rors. The cōtrary oppynyō of whose
execrable heresy/the church was in y
begynninge taughte by the mouthe of
Crist hym self. And after of his blis-
sed appostels/whych redde & declaryd the
scripturs amōg y peple in theyr tyme/
G.ii. the wyng

the wyng them in what wyse þe wordis
of holy scripture prouyd the trowth of
such artycles of þe fayth as they taught
them by mouth. And how such textys
as seemyd the contrary were not contra-
ry in dede. And therwith declaryd the
of those textys þe ryght vnderstādyng.
And albeȝt þe our sauour shewyd &
playnly prouyd þe in the scripture was
geuen good tokens & iustycient know-
lege of hym/ yet to thentent we shulde
well know that hys own word & oꝝdy-
naunce nedyth none othere authoꝝyte
but hym self/ but ys to be beleuyd and
obeyd be it wryten oꝝ not wryten/ sum-
thyngys dyd he therfoꝝe byd to be do-
gū thyngys also to be beleuyd/ wher-
of we haue in holy scripture no wrytig
in the world. Saynt Poule cōmaun-
dyth the people of Thessalonica in his
epistle to kepe the tradycions that he
toke them eyther by hys wrytyng oꝝ by
hys bare word. For þe wordis þe he sayd
among them/ our lord had told them
hym for them. And therfoꝝe he wryteth
vnto the Corynthyens/ that of the holy
howsell the sacrame[n]te of the auter he
had shewyd them the mater & þe maner
by mouth/ as our lord had hym self ta-
ught yt to hi. And therfoꝝe no dout ys
there/ but that by thapostels was the
chyrche moze fully taughte of þe mater/
than euer was wryten in all the scrip-
ture. There was lernid the maner and
foꝝme of consecracyon. There was ler-
nyd mych of the mysteall gesturys & d-
cerimonys vlyd in the masse. And yf
any man dout therof/ let hym cōsyder
where shuld we els haue the begynnyng
of the water put wyth the wyne into þe
chalyce. For well we wot þe þe scripture
byddyth yt not. And euery wyse man
may well wryt thā whan the gospel spe-
kyth onely of wyne/ there durst no mā

in thys world haue bene so bold to put
eny thing els therto. For whē þe gospel
spekyth of wine onely toꝝnyd into hys
precyous blood/ what man wold adue-
ture to make any myxture of water?
And now ys þe chyrch so well acertenid
of goddys pleasure theryn woutc any
scripture/ þe they not onely dare put in
water/ but also dare not leue yt oute.
And wherby knew þe chyrch this thing
but by god & hys holy appostels whych
taught in theyꝝ tyme? And so wente yt
foꝝth from age to age/ contnyued in þe
chyrch vntyll thys day/ begon by god i
the begynnyng without any mencyon
made i holy scripture. **H**owbeit Lu-
ther sayth because yt ys not cōmaūdyd
by scripture/ wee maye chese therfoꝝe
whether we wyll do yt oꝝ leue yt. For
this one poynt ys þe very fōd fōūda-
ciō & groūd of all hys greate heresy/ þe a
man is not boude to beleue eny thyng
but if yt may be puyd euidently by scrip-
ture. And theruppō goth he so farfoꝝth
þe no scripture cā be euident to pue eny
thyng þe he lyst to deny. For he will not
agre it foꝝ euident be it neuer so playn.
And he wyll call euident foꝝ him þe text/
þe ys euident agāst hi. And lūtime if it
be to playn agāst hym/ thā wyll he call
it no scripture/ as he playth wð þe pꝛist-
le of saynt Jamys. And because the olde
holy doctozs be full & hole agāst hym/
he setttyth thē all at nought. And wyth
these woꝝshipfull wyse ways he procla-
myth hi self a cōquerour/ where besid
all þe rēnaūt/ wherin euery chylde may
se hys proude frātyk foly he ys shāfully
put to flyght in þe fūrst poynt/ þe had at
þe fūrst face sum bylage of pꝛabyltye.
How be it to say the trowth/ he were a
lewde lozell that wolde nothyng doo
that hys master wold byd hym/ noꝝ no
thyng beleue but that his master wold
tell

For ellys whā þ angell did þ message/
 she might haue enclined therto though
 she had byfore bene in a nother minde.
 Now whan she had then so full & faste
 a purpose of ppetuall byrginite bifoze
 the birthe of her blessyd chylde/ whiche
 cam among his other heuinly doctrine
 to call and crozte the wo:ld frome all
 pleasure of þ fleshe to þ purtyte & clen
 nes of the body and soule/ and from þ
 desyre of carnall generacyō to a gostly
 regeneracton in grace/more were it
 then wonder if she shulohave thē more
 regarde of fleshely desyre / o: cure of
 wo:ldly p:otrectayon than euer she had
 before her celest:all concep:yon of her
 maker made mā in her blessed wombe
 O: what man could thynk yt that euer
 god wold suffer any erthly man after/
 to be concepuyd in that holy closet ta
 ken vp and consecrate so specyally to
 god: Thys reuerent artycle of our la
 dys perpetuall byrgnyte/ the chy:che
 of Cryste beyng taught the trouthe by
 Cryste/perpetuallly hath beleuyd syns
 the tyme of Cryste. And yet is ther no
 wo:de therof in Crystys gospel wry
 ten/but rather dyuers textys so sow
 ning to the contrary/that by the wo:dg
 vnderstangyng of them / the heretyke
 Eluydyus toke the occasyon of hys he
 resy/by whych he wold that oure lady
 after the byrth of Cryst had other chyl
 dern by Ioseph. How can we than say
 that we could wythout the lernynge of
 the sayth befoze/synde out all the poy
 nty in the scripture / when there be lū
 that all crystendome beleue/ ad beleue
 them self bounden to beleue/ wherof þ
 scripture geueth no playne doctrine
 but rather semyth to say the contrary.
 But as I began to say/the holy ap
 postels beyng taughte by they: grete
 master Cryste/did teche vnto þ chy:ch

as well the artycles of the sayth/as the
 vnderstandyng of such textys of scryp
 ture as was meete and conuenient for
 the matter. wherby it is not vnklyþ
 the gospel of saynt John/& the epistels
 of saynt Poule/were than bette vnder
 standen among the comen people/ thā
 they be paraduenture now wyth some
 that take them selfe for greate clerkys.
 And as thapostels at þ tyme taughte
 the people/so dyd euer some of them þ
 hard thē tech forth and leue they: doc
 tryne and tradycyons to other that cā
 after. By resō whereof not oncly cam
 the rytys and sacramentys and the ar
 tycles of our sayth frō hād to hand/frō
 Cryste & his appostels vnto our days/
 but also the greate parte of the ryghte
 vnderstandyng of holy scripture by
 good and godly wryters of sundry ty
 mys. By whose good & holesome doc
 tryne set forth by they: vertew wyth
 goddys good inspyracyon grace and
 help of the holy goste/we haue also the
 knowlege & parceuyng what was þ
 sayth of Crystys church in euery tyme
 syns. And thereby parceyue we þ these
 heretikys be not only barkers agaynst
 þ sayth that now is/but also that hath
 bene euer synnys Cryste dyed. And
 therefore is holy scripture as I sayd þ
 hyst & the best lernynge that eny man
 can haue/ yf one take the ryght way in
 the lernynge. It ys (as a good ho
 ly saynte saythe) so maruelously tem
 peryd/that a moule may wade therin/
 and an olyphaunt be d:ownyd therin.
 For ther is no mā so low/but if he will
 seke his way wyth the staff of his faith
 in hys hande/and holde that faste and
 se:che the way therwyth/and haue the
 olde holy fathers also for his gidis/go
 ynge & wyth a good purpose & a low
 ly harte / vlyng reason and refusynge
 no good

Hand
writing



no good lerninge / with calling of god
for wyldome grace & help that he may
well kepe his way and follow his good
gidys / thā shall he neuer fall in parell /
but well and suerly trade thow and
cum to suche ende of his iorney as him
self wolde well wyshe. But suerly if he
be as long as Longius / & haue an hys
harte and truste vppon hys oñe wytt
(as he doth loke he neuer so louly / that
settethe all the olde holy fathers att
noughte) that fellow shall not fayle to
synke ouer the cris and droune. And of
all wretches warst shall he walke / & for-
eig litle of the fayth of Christ church /
cumeth to the scripture of god to loke
and trye therin whyther the chyrche by
leue a right or not. For either douteth
he whyther Chryste teche hys chyrche
trew / or ellys whyther Chryste techeth
it at all or not. And thā he doutith whi-
ther Christ i his woꝝdis did say trewe /
whan he sayde he wolde be wythe hys
chyꝝch tyll the ende of the worlde. And
surely the thyng he made Arius / He-
lagius / Faustus / Maniche / Donat /
Eluidius & all y rable of the old heryti-
kes to dꝛown them self in those dāpna-
ble heresyꝝ / was nothyng but hygh
pride of theyre lernynge in scripture /
wherin they folowed there owne wyt-
tys and lefte the cōmen faythe of the ca-
tholyke chyrche / preferringe theyre
own gay glosys bifoꝝe the ryght catho-
lyke fayth of all Christis chyrch / which
cā neuer erre in eny substāciall poynte
that god wolde haue vs bounde to by
leue. And therfoꝝe to ende wher we by-
gan / who so wyll not vnto the study of
scripture take the poynt of y catholy-
que fayth as a rule of interpretacyon /
but of dyffydens and mystrike study
to seke in scripture whyther the fayth
of the chyrch be trew or not / he cā not

fayle to fall in worse errors & farre moze
scoperdous than eny mā can do by phy-
losophy / wherof the reasons and argu-
mentys in maters of our faythe haue
nothyng the lyke authoꝝyte.

The xxvi. chapyter

The messenger sayenge that hym
semed he shulde not byleue y chyrch
if he saw the chyrche saye one thyng
and holy scripture a nother thyng
because the scripture is the woꝝd of
god / the authoꝝ she wyth y the fayth
of the chyrch ys the woꝝd of god as
well as the scripture / and therfoꝝe as
well to be beleuyd. And y the fayth
& the scripture well vnderstāden be
neuer cōtrary. And farther she wyth
y vppon all doutys ryllynge vppon
holy scripture concernynge any ne-
cessary artycle of the faythe / he that
cannot vppon all that he cā here in
the mater o both the sydys patceyue
y beter & trewer parte / hath a sure &
vndoutable refuge puydyd him by
the goodnes of god to bynge hym
out of all pplyte / in that god hath
cōmaundyd hym in all such doutys
to beleue hys chyrch.

Ruly syr q he me thynketh
it is well sayed that ye haue
sayed. And in good faythe

to say the truth I se not what I shuld
answere yt wythall. And yet whan I
loke bak agayne vppō holy scripture /
and consyder that yt ys goddys owne
woꝝdys whyche I wote well ye wyll
graunte / I fynde it harde i myne hart
to beleue all the mē yn the hole world /
yf they wolde say eny thyng wherof I
shuld se that the holy scripture sayth y
contrary / sythe yt ys reason that I be-
leue god alone far better than the all.
¶ In that quod I ye say very trouthe.
But now I putt case that god wolde
tell

tell you. it. thyngys whether of theym
 wolde ye beleue best. ¶ Either nother
 of he/ but I wolde byleue theym bothe
 truly & both a like. ¶ What if neyther
 nother quod I were lykely to be trew
 but lemede bothe twayne impossyble.
 ¶ That shold quod he make litle force
 to me. For that onis knowen that god
 telleth theym / lemed they neuer so far
 vnlikly no; neuer so far impossyble / I
 neyther shuld no; could haue eny dout
 but that they were both twayne trew.
 ¶ That ys well sayde of I. But now
 and yt so were that those. ii. thyngis se
 med the tone to the tother clene cōtra
 ry / what wolde ye than thynk & which
 wolde ye thā byleue? ¶ Yet could I not
 quod he dout eny thyng but that they
 were very trew bothe / but I wolde ve
 ryly thynke that I dyd not well vnder
 stande the tone of theym. ¶ What wold
 ye than do quod I if he had you bileue
 theym bothe. ¶ Mary of he than wold
 I praye hym tell me furste how he vn
 derstandeth theym bothe. For though
 I bileue that they be both trew in that
 sense and purpose that he takyth the
 owne wordes / and may in that maner
 vnderstanden / well stande and agree
 to gether / yet can I not byleue theym
 both in that sense and vnderstandyng
 wherein they repugne and be directly
 cōtrary eche to other. ¶ That is quod
 I so well sayd þ in my mynde no man
 cā amend yt. ¶ But now wold I wytt
 quod I whyther that the saythe of the
 chyrche be the worde of god / & by god
 spoken to the chyrche or not. ¶ Yes of
 he god speketh to hys chyrche in þ scrip
 ture. And ys nothyng goddes word
 of I but scripture. ¶ The wordys þ god
 spake to Moyses were theye not god
 dys wordys all tyll they were wyttē?
 And the wordys of Chryste to hys a-

postles were they not hys wordys till
 they were wyttē? ¶ Yes than quod he.
 But now sythe he hath perfyted and
 finished the corpus of holy scripture /
 all thyng that he wold chryste people
 shulde byleue / and all that he wold the
 chyrche wold do / and all that he wold
 the chyrche shuld eschew / all thys hath
 he leste theym hys mynde suffyrently
 in holy scripture. ¶ And none other
 wyse quod I bysyde? I had wentt we
 had bene at a nother poynt / in that ye
 se þ sabbat day chaunged in to soday
 wythoute eny worde of scripture / ge
 uyn eny cōmaūdement of þ chaunge
 in the new testement / from the cōmaū
 demente geuyn for the saterday in the
 olde. And also for the poynte that we
 spake of / towching the perpetuall vir
 ginite of our lady wherof ys no worde
 wyttē in scripture. But syth I per
 ceue that the grete affectyō and reue
 rence that ye bere to the scripture of
 god / not wythout grete cause but w
 out eny mesure / makethe you in the
 case that ye take all authoꝛyte and cre
 dence from eury word of god spoken
 bysde the scripture / I wolde ask yow
 therfore thys questyon. If god yn holy
 scripture tell you. ii. thyngs that seme
 the tone contrary to the tothere / as for
 ensample yf he tell yow in one place þ
 he ys lesse than hys father / and in a no
 there place that he and his father be all
 one / whych of these wyll you beleue?
 ¶ Mary quod he both twayn. for they
 may stande to gether well inough. For
 he was lesse as man / & was all one & e
 gall as god. ¶ Very trowth yt ys quod
 I that ye say. But now yf ye had bene
 born in þ days of Arius the heretyke /
 he wolde not haue receuyd no; holde
 hym self contente wyth thys answer /
 but he wold haue agreed you the furst
 parte

parte and put you ferther to proue the secunde parte. And vnto that terte he wolde haue made you a glose that his father & he were one not in substance but in wyll. And that glose he wolde haue fortifyed & made lū what seimely wyth a nother word of Chryste i which he prayed his father sayyng/as thou & and I be bothe one so make thou that they & we may be made one / menig by his chrysten peole whyche shall neuer be one wyth hym in substance. So þ for the inequality of Chryst by reason of his māhed/ye must agre wyth him. But for vnyte of godhed / he wyll not agree wyth ~~him~~ but putt you alway to proue it. ¶ Well quod he and thoghe he so dyd yet yf I were prouydid there fore/therbe terts ynowe that playnly proue yt. ¶ That is quod I very truth But yet ys there none but he shall alway set you a nother agaynste yt/and a glose as faste for yours as ye shall haue an answer for his/ in such wyse as he may abuse a right wyse and well lernyd man as he dyd i his owne days & many dayes after many a thousand. ¶ Than yf yt so were that in that dyspycyons ye coude not make youre audyence to dyscerne the truthe/noz peradueniure persuaide theym to bylcue the truthe/bycause the false parte myghte happe to haue to the myndys of many a moze face of trewth/as it had at that tyme to manye that than were of that secte / what way wold ye wynde oute? ¶ Mary quod he I wolde bylcue well my selfe the trewthe & go to god/and lett theym that wolde bylcue the false parte go to the deuyl / ¶ Ye shulde q I haue takyn therin a good sure way. But now yf ye had bene in that tyme (albe yt ye be now faste and sure in the trewthe) ye myght haue happed whyle

the matter was in questyone / & many grete clarkys & well scryptured men/ and some seimynge tyght holy/ sett on the wronge syde/ ye myghte haue happed I say so to haue bene moued wih the reasons on bothe the sides/ that ye shulde not haue wyse on whych parte to determyne your bylcue. And what wolde ye than haue done? ¶ Quod he ye put me now to a pynch/and I shall answer you as I haue harde say that doctoz Mayo sumtyme almoigner to kyng henry þ seynth answered onys the kyng at his table. It happed that ther was fallen in cōmunicaciō þ stozy of Ioseph how his masters Butiphers wyfe a grete mā w þ kyng of Egypt/ wold haue pulled hym to bed/ & he fled away. ¶ Now master Mayo (q þ kyngs grace) ye be a tall stronge man on the one syde/ and a cunnynge doctoz on þ tother syde/ what wold ye haue done yf ye had bene not Iosephe but in Iosephes stede? By my trouthe syr q he and yt lyke your grace/ I can not tell you what I wold haue don but I can tell you well what I shulde haue don.

By my trouthe quod the kyng that was very well answerid. And litch that answer serued hym well there/ I shall make þ same serue me here. For surely if I had bene in Arius days i þ poynt that ye speke of/ what I wold haue do that wot I nere. But what I shulde haue done that can I well tel you and surely trust I wolde haue done so too. ¶ What ys þ quod I. ¶ Mary I wolde haue byleued the beste quod he. ¶ The best quod I: that were beste in dede yf ye wylt whych yt were. But the case ys put/ that the reasons groundes vppon scripture seimyd vnto you in such wise ethe to impugne and answer other/ þ ye stode in such a dout/ that ye could in no wyse

fabula

no wyse dyscerne whythere syde sayde
best. ¶ By god quod he I had forgotē
that. Well than were it beste quod he/
and so wolde I haue done I thynke/
knele me downe and make my speciall
prayour to god þ̄ yt myght please hys
goodnes i so great a parell not to leue
me pplexed/but vouchelase to enclyne
myne assent vnto that syde þ̄ he knew
were trew/and wolde I shulde byleue
to be trew. And then wold I boldly by
leue the tone whyche god shulde haue
put in my mynde. Had not thys bene þ̄
best way? ¶ If yt were not quod I the
best/yt myght peradventure serue for
a secunde. ¶ A secunde quod he thā ye
take yt for noughte. ¶ Nay quod I/
ther be two secondys after two maner
countyngys. One nexte vnto þ̄ worst/
a nother nexte vnto þ̄ beste. And your
way ys surely far fro þ̄ worst. But yet
dare I not assent that yt were the beste
tyll I vnderstand yt better. And ther-
fore I pray you tell me thys. If after
your speciall prayours made/ye wrote
the tone parte in one paper and the to-
ther parte i a nother and layed theym
both on the grounde/and then sett vp
a staffe bytweene theym both/wolde ye
be then indifferēt to take þ̄ tone side
oʒ þ̄ tother after/as yt shulde hap your
staffe to fall? ¶ Why not quod he. Oʒ el-
lys put yt vppon two lottys/and than
at auenture drawe the tone & take yt.
For whē I haue done as inych as mine
owne wyt wyll serue / and haue harde
thereto all that I can of other mē / and
yet by neyther can perceyue the better
opiniō/what shuld I do oʒ what could
I do ferther thā pray for grace to gide
my choyce/and so at auenture boldly
take þ̄ tone and holde it fast/dowtyng
nothyng but god assysted my choyce/
yf I haue a ferm fayth in hys promyse

by whyche he promyseth that yf we ask
we shall haue askyng as saynt Jaiys
sayeth wythout any dowte. And why
shulde not I in suche perplexed case af-
ter help callid for of god/take the tone
parte at aduenture by lot as dyd thap
postels in the chesying of a new /to ful-
fyll þ̄ place of þ̄ traitour Judas? ¶ Lot-
tys quod I be well lawfull i the choyle
of such two thyngs as be both so good
þ̄ we be lykly to chose well inough why
there so euer we take. But now yf ye
were in the case that I haue harde my
father mercyly say euery man ys at the
choyle of hys wyfe/that ye shulde put
your hande in to a blynde bagg full of
snakys & elys to gether .vii. snakis for
eue/eu ye wold I wene reke it a pilous
choyle to take vppe one at aduenture
though ye had made your speciall pray-
our to spede well. No: ye ought not in
suche case to aduenture it vppon your
prayour and trust of god wythout ne-
cessitye. ¶ That ys paduēture trouthe
quod he. But in our case there ys neces-
sitye. For there were none othere way
to auoyde the pplexitie/but euyn take
the tone by prayour and ferm truste in
god/whyche neuer deceyued theym þ̄
truste in hym. ¶ If there were quod I
none other way swinwhat were it than
þ̄ ye say. But now consydeer your case
agaync. And whan yt so were that ye
coude not vppon that ye hard the Ar-
ryanys and the catholyke parte argue
to gether/parceyue whyther part were
the better/and therfoze of those two ra-
lys tolde you by god in many textis of
holy scrypture/some semynge playnely
to say that Cryste was not egall wyth
hys father/some semynge as playnely
to say the contrary/ye coude in no wise
fynde ony reason / whereby ye coude
finde your self moued to take the tone
parte

partē for more probable than þ tother.
I put case than that god wold hym self
saye to you I haue shewed the trouthe
of this mater to suche a man/and how
my scripture ys to be vnderstande cō-
cernyng the same. Go thy wayes ther-
fore to hym. And that thyng þ he shall
tell the that thyng byleue thou. wolde
ye saye nay good lord? I wyl aske no
man but thy self/and therefore tell me
thyne owne mouth/ or els I wyl take
the one parte at all aduentures/and
thynke that thou wolde haue yt so/or
ellys wold ye thynke þ god were your
good lord? & had done myche for you
in that it lykede hym so graciously for
your surete to bynge you oute of such
a great perplexitye/wherby ye shulde
for your owne mynde haue remainned
in an insoluble dowte i a mater of the
fayth/wherē it ys damnable to dwell
in dowte or (whyche yet myche worse
were) haue declyned peraduenture in
to an inuincible errour? **¶** Verily q
he greate cause shuld I haue had light-
ly to thanke god. If ye wolde not than
quod I fyrste make your prayour and
than wyth good hope that grace shall
guyde your fortune take þ one parte
at auēture by lot/but ye wold in your
prayour thank god for that prouyſiō.
And thē wold ye get you to that man
as faste as ye coulde. **¶** Very trouthe
quod he. **¶** Than yf þ man shulde tell
you that Arrys and his cūpany were
heretyques all and toke textis of scrip-
ture wronge ye wold beleue hym? **¶** Ye
verily quod he þ wold I. **¶** I put case
quod I that ye had not doubted byfore
but had bene i your self at clere poynte
þ þ Arrys oppnyō were the trouthe/
yet ye wolde agaynste Arrys and all
hys/and agaynste your own mynd also
lene vnto hys worde/whome god had

fo. cl.

beden you bylese. **¶** What eis quod he?
¶ What yf ye asked hym q I whythere
god haue suffycently shewed þ poynt
in scripture/so that yt may by the wor-
dys of holy wrytt well and eydentlye
be proued/and þ he tolde you ye / And
that theruppon he wolde bynge in all
the textys that ye had well in remem-
braunce all redy/ & þ ye layed agaynste
therin all that you coulde lay for the cō-
trary/so forsoyth that whā eche of you
had layed all your textys and all your
glosys that eyther of you bothe could
bynge for the tyll ye bothe confessyd þ
neyther of ye bothe coulde eny fether
thyng fynde therein /he sayenge styll þ
hys way were the trouthe and þ he had
by scripture well proued yt vnto you/
and your selfe on the tother side for all
that euer ye had hard hym say/parceys
uyng in your owne mynde none other
but that ye had by scripture better pro-
uyd the tother pte/which wold ye now
beleue/that way that as farre as ye see
god sayth him self in holy scripture/or
els that man whom god sente you to &
bade you beleue? **¶** Nay verily q he I
wolde beleue hym. **¶** Well sayde quod
I. But whether wold ye onely beleue
him that the trouth of the mater were
agaynste the Arrys/or els wold you
beleue hym fether in þ he sayd he had
so prouyd yt vnto you by scripture.
¶ I wold q he beleue hym therein also.
For syth god so had cōmaunded me/ &
had shewed me that he had him selfe in-
structyd that mā in what sence þ scrip-
ture were to be vnderstanden/ I could
none otherwyle thynke/ but that were
trew/and thowgh it appetyd to myne
own reason the contrary. **¶** Very well
sayd q I. Now if god had sayed vnto
you that ye shulde beleue that man cō-
cernyng the matter selfe/ & of scripture
had

had nothyng spoke/ than wold ye haue
bylcuyd hym yet in the mater: wold ye
not all though he shuld haue tolde you
that he vnderstode no scripture at all:
¶ That ys trew quod he. ¶ Now yf he
sholde then haue tolde you that the A
rrians were heretyques in þ poynce
and theyre oppynion erronouse & false/
ye wold haue byleude hym: ¶ What
els q he. ¶ What if he had told you ther
wyth quod I that he wiste nere why
ther yt myght be well proued by scrip
ture or not: ¶ Yet wold I quod he ne
uerthelesse byleue to be trewe the ma
ter selfe that he had tolde me. ¶ What
wold ye than think quod I of those
textys that ye reken byfore well & plai
ly to proue the contrary: ¶ I wolde q
he than reken that they were mente su
other wayes thā I could vnderstand.
For I could not doute but beig trew
ly vnderstanden / theye could neuer
wytnes agaynste þ trouh. ¶ In good
faith quod I ye say maruelously well.
Doo ye nott quod I take yt for all one
whyther god byd you do a thyng bys
owne mouthe or byd you by holy scrip
ture: ¶ Yes quod he sauig / that I take
the byddinge by scripture for the moze
sure. For there wot I wel god speket
& I can not be illuded. ¶ Now quod I
thys man that god byddeth you go to
& in all thyng byleue hym wyll it make
eny chaunge in our mater whyther yt
be man or woman: ¶ No chaunge at
all quod he. what yf yt were a cerrey
n known cumpany of men and women
to gether quod I wold that make eny
dyfference. ¶ Neuer a whyt quod he.
¶ Than quod I in case yt apere vnto
you as I suppose it doth to you and to
euery christen man els/ þ in all poynce
of sayth both in thyngys to be byleued
aboue nature/ and in thyng also that

at of necessitte to be knowe & byleuyd/
whyth may be perceyued by reason ge
uyn vs wyth nature/ god geueth vs in
cōmaūdement that we shall byleue his
chyrch/ than are ye full answered. For
than haue ye the man that ye muste ne
dys resoꝛte vnto for your fynall alwer
and solusyon of all poynrys and dow
rys/ in eny wyse concernyng the salua
cyon of your soule. of whyche poynrys
no man can denye/ but one of the most
especiall poynce is to take in holy scrip
ture alway the ryght sense. ¶ Well ys yf
we cannot attayne the ryght vndersta
dyng/ yet than at the leste wyse to be
sure that we shall auoyde and esche we
all such misse takyng as myght bypnye
vs in to eny damnable errour.

¶ The. xxvii. chapyter

¶ Chaurho: prouyth that god hath
cōmaūdid vs in all thyng necessary
to saluacion to gyue ferme credence
and full obedyence vnto his church.
And a cause why god wyll haue vs
bounden to byleue.

¶ That is trothe quod he if this
may appere. But where shal
it appere that god cōmaun
dyth vs in all such thyngys to beleue þ
chyrch: For furste me thynketh þ were
a very strange maner of cōmaūdyng.
For of the church be all we that shulde
as ye say bee by god cōmaūded to be
leue the chyrche/ And all we to gether
make the hole chyrch. And what reaso
were yt than to cōmaund vs to beleue
the chyrche. whyth were no moze in ef
fect/ but to byd vs all beleue vs all/ or
eche of vs to beleue other. And then yf
we fell at dyuers oppyniōs/ why shuld
the tone parte moze beleue the tother/
thā be beleuyd of the tother/ sith bothe
the partys be of the chyrch and make þ
chyrch ainōg them: sayyng that alwey
that

that parte semeth to byleue whych best
and most clerly can alledge y^e scrip-
ture for theye opynyō. For the wordes
of god must byke y^e stryfe. We is onely
to byleue & hys onely sonne of whom
him self commaunded. Iplum audite/
here ym saye the father at the tyme of
hys baptysme. And therfore the mā y^e
ye speke of whome god sendeth me to/
and whom he byddeth me here and by-
leue / ys our sauour Cryst onely and
not eny congregacyon of men. whose
wordes yf we byleue by fore y^e wordes
of god / and in the feite of the scripture
of god put our truste and confydence
in y^e doctryne & opynacyō of y^e chyrche/
it were happely to be fered / lest we fall
in the reproche that ys touched in y^e gos-
pell where is sayed / in bayne wurshup
they me wyth the doctryne of mē / and
where our sauour also reprocheth the
scribes & the pharisees saynge vnto
theym / wherfore do you byke & trans-
gress the comaūdemēt of god for your
tradycyons. I trust q^d I yet at laste
we shall agre. But myche a do me thi-
keth it ys to cū to it. But syth we must
as ye say and treuth yt ys / here our sa-
uour Chyrste and byleue hym / ys yt
ynough to here hym and byleue hym /
or be we bylydes that also bounden to
obay hym? To obay hym also q^d he.
For els were he better vnherd. Well
sayd quod I. But whyther are we bou-
den to here hym and obay hym in som
thynges or in all thynges? In all thi-
nges quod he wythout excepcyō that he
comaūdeyth vs to do. Chā yf Cryst
quod I bydde vs byleue and obay hys
chyrche / be we not boude so to do. Yes
quod he. Chan may we quod I no
more dowt to be trew what so y^e chyrche
byddeth vs byleue / than the thyng y^e
our sauour hym self byddeth vs byle-

ue / yf he bydde vs here hys chyrche as
his father had vs here hym. That is
trouth q^d he yf he so do / but me thyn-
keth yt were a straunge bydding as I
sayd to bydde of vs of byleue other.
It semed not q^d I so straunge a thig
to Seynt Poule. For he meruelouse
effectually telerheth Chyrsten people
to agree to gether all in one mynde /
and in the fayth to tell one tale / suffe-
ryng no sectis or scismes amōg theym.
whych agrement & consent cā neuer be
where no mā geueth credēce to other.
But amōg Chyrstē people yt well some
be / yf euery man geue credence to the
chyrche. But yet q^d he syth all be of the
chyrche of dyuerse parties / whych shall
byleue whych? Ye take y^e quod I for a
grete dowt & a thig very pplex / whych
semeth me very playn. For eyther first
y^e chyrche hath y^e treuth & byleue all one
way tyll som one or som fewe begynne
y^e chaunge / and than though all be yet
of y^e chyrche tyll som by theyr of synacie
be gone oute or put oute / yet ys yt no
dowt but yf I wyll byleue y^e chyrche I
must byleue theym y^e stryll byleue that
way whych all y^e hole byleued byfore /
or els yf there were eny thyng y^e was
paduēture such / y^e in y^e church somtym
was dowted & reputed for vnreueled &
vnknowē / yf after y^e y^e holē chyrche fall
i one cōsēt vppō y^e tone syde / eyther by
cōmē determinacyō at a generall cou-
sayle or by a ppyte perswasō & by lre
so receyued thorough christendō y^e the
Crystē people thik it a dāpnable errour
to byleue y^e cōtrary / thā yf eny wold af-
ter y^e take y^e cōtrary way were it one or
moor / were yt fewe or many / were they
lerned or vnlerned / were they ley people
or of y^e clergie / yet cā I nothig dowte
whych pte to byleue yf I wyl byleue the
chyrche. It is trouht q^d he. But ye pue

me not yet that god hath boden me by-
leue the chyrche. ¶ Ye suin what inter-
rupted me quod I with your other sub-
tylty/ by whych ye wold yt shold seme
an absurdytte to bydde vs byleue the
chyrych/ For as mych as therby ye sayd
yt shulde seme þ we were cōmaunded
nothyng els but ethe to byleue other/
and than in dyuerse opynyons taken
we coud not wyt whyche parte shulde
byleue whych. wherof lyth I haue she-
wed you the contrary and remoued þ
blocke oute of the way for stumbleng/
we shall I thik sone se þ tother poynt/
that Cryst cōmaundith vs to byleue his
chyrych. For as hys father sayd of hi self
here hym/so sayd he of hys chyrych whā
he sent it abyde to be spred forth. For
whā he had gathered hys chyrych of hys
apostles & hys dyscyples and theruppō
set them forth to preche/ sayed he not
vnto them/he that hereth you hereth
me: Wd he not also cōmaunde þ who
so wolde not here the chyryche shulde be
reputed and taken as paynyms and
publycanyes? ¶ That was q he where
men wold not amende theyre lyuyng.
¶ Was yt not q I generall where a mā
wold not amēde eny dainpnable faw-
te: ¶ Yes q he. ¶ Is my belefe quod I
none suche: ¶ Yes mary q he. ¶ Than
ys quod I the chyryche hys Judge vppō
hys byleue/ to shew hym whyther it be
trew or false. ¶ So yt semeth quod he.
¶ Hath hys lyuyng quod I no thyng
a do wyth fayth: ¶ How meane you þ
quod he: ¶ Thus quod I as yf Luther
late a frere and hauyng now wedded
a wīue/were cōmaunded to amende
hys lewde lyuyng and put away that
barlot whome he abuseth in cōtynual
inceste and sacrilege vnder þ name of
a wyfe/and he wolde say þ he wd well
ynough/and that theyr bowes coude

not bynde them/were he not boundē
to byleue þ chyryche and obay thereto as
well cōcernig hys bylefe as his lyuig:
¶ Yes verily quod he. ¶ Chā appereth
yt quod I that we be by Cryst cōmaū-
ded to here/byleue & obay þ chyryche as
well in maters of fayth as of maners.
whych thig well appereth also by þ our
lord wold þ who so were dysobedyēt
shulde be taken as a paynyne or a pu-
blycane. ¶ Of whych. ii. þ tone offēded i
mysoyleue the tother in lewd lyuig. &
thus yt appereth þ not onely Cryst ys
the mā þ ye be set vnto & cōmaūded be
god to byleue & obay/but also þ chyrych
ys the pson whom ye be by Cryste cō-
maūded to here and byleue and obay.
And therfore yf ye wyl in fayth or ly-
uig or abydyng of all dāpnable errour
þ ye myght fall in by myse vndersta-
dyng of scriptur take a sure & vnfallible
way/ye must in all these thynges here/
byleue and obay the chyrych/whyche ys
as I say the persone whom Cryst sen-
deth you to for the sure solucyon of all
suche doutys/as to the man in whose
mouth he speketh hym selfe and the ho-
ly spyryte of hys father in heu. ¶ And
surely thys ys mych to be marked. For
yt ys the perpetuall order whyche our
lord hath contynued in the gouernaū-
ce of good men frome the bygynnyng/
þ lyke as our nature fyrst fell by pryde
to þ dysobedyēce of god w inordyna-
te desyre of knowlege lyke vnto god/
so hath god euer kept mā i humyltye/
straynig hym w þ knowlege & cōfessyō
of hys ygnoraūce/and byndig hym to
þ obedyēce of bylyue of certayn thiges
wherof his own wit wold verely wene
þ cōtrary. & therfore are we boundē not
ōly to byleue agāst our own resō þ pois-
er þ god sheweth vs i scriptur/but also
þ god teachith his chyrch wout scriptur &
agaynst

agaynst our owne mīde also / to gyue
dylygent heryng / ferme credence / and
faythfull obediēce to þe chyrch of chryst /
concernyng the sence & vnderstādyng
of holy scripture. For dowtig but līth
he hath cōmāded his shepe to be fedde /
he hath prouyded for theym hole some
mete and trewe doctryne. And that he
hath therfore so farre inspyred the olde
holy doctours of his chyrch wth the līght
of his grace for our instructyō / that þe
doctrīne wherīn they haue agreed and
by many agys confēded / is þe very true
fayth and ryght way to heuyn / beyng
put in theyr myndes by the holy had of
hym / qui facit vnanimes i domo / þe ma
keth þe chyrch of Cryst all of one mynd.

The. xxviii. chaptyer

¶ The messenger eft sonys obiectred
agaynst thys / that we shulde byleue
þe chyrch ī any thyng where we fynd
þe wordes of scripture semīg play
nely to say the contrary / or byleue þe
olde doctours interpretacyons ī
any necessary artycle / where they
seme to vs to say cōtrary to þe tēte.
¶ Hewīg þe we may pceyue þe scripture
aswel as they might. & þe answer of þe
authoꝝ pūīg þe authorite of þe old in
terp̄ters & þe infallible authorite of þe
chyrch ī þe god techith it euery truthe
requysite to þe necessite of mānys sal
uacyō. whiche he pūeth by a deduccy
ō p̄tely depēdyg vppō naturall resō.

¶ It seemeth me quod he that all
thys goth well that we shulde
byleue the chyrch as chryst / as
longe as they say as Cryst sayth / for so
me thynke the ment our lord. ¶ But
now yf they tel me talis of theyr owne
wherof Cryst neuer spake worde noꝝ
mencyō made therof ī holy scripture
I may thā say wth þe pphet Hieremie / nō
mittebā prophetas et ipsi currebant.

¶ Non loquebat ad eos et ipsi propheta
bant / those prophetis (quod our lord)
ranne forth of theyre owne hed and I
sent theym not / And pphceyed of theyr
owne hēddes whā I spake nothyng to
theym. And than how myche may I
more say so / yf they say me a thyng
wtherof Cryst or holy scripture sayth
the contrary / Shall I byleue the chyrch
about chryste / were that a good hu
mylete to be obedyent more to menne
than to god? ¶ Howe ought I me thyn
keth to byleue god aboue spakyng ī
hys holy scripture hym selfe / than all
the olde fathers yf they make a glos
agaynst the tēte. For they doo nott
theym selfe for theyre opynyous say &
wryte / that they haue theym by inspy
racyō / or by reuelacyō / or by myra
cle. But by wysdome / studye / dily
gence / and collacyō of one tēte wth
a nother. By all whych meanys men
may now pceyue the sentēce of scryp
ture as well as they myght than. And
yf ye wyll peraduenture say that grace
holpe theym whych I wyll well agree /
than wyll I say agayne that goddys
grace is not so farre worn oute yet / but
þe yt may as well helpe vs as yt holpe
theym / and so may we be for the ryght
vnderstandyng of scripture equall
wth theym / and peraduenture one
ace aboue theym. wherby whan we p
ceyue that they went wroꝝg and other
after theym / shall we than call yt hu
mylete so to captyue & subdue our vn
derstandyng / wherby god hath hap
pely geuen vs līght to pceyue theyr
errours / þe wthout thank geuyng hym
therfore we shall so lett hys gyfte at
nought / that we shall byleue theym
byfore hym selfe / & tell hym þe hym self
bad for & therfore me thīke where þe old
doctours or the holy chyrche telleth me

the tale that god doth/ther he byddeth
me beleue theym. But where god say-
eth one thyng in scripture and they
tell me a nother/yt thynkith me that I
shuld in no wyse beleue theym. ¶ Well
quod I than in sú what ye saye ye will
beleue the chyrch but not in all. In eny
thyng bysde scripture ye wyll not/
no: in the interpretacion of scripture
ye wyll not. And so where ye sayed y
ye beleue y chyrch in sú what / in very
dede ye beleue y chyrch i right nought.
For wherein wyll ye beleue yt yf ye by-
leue it not in the interpretaciō of scrip-
ture? For as touchyng the texte ye by-
leue the scripture self and not y chyrch
¶ He thynketh q he the text ys good
ynough and playne ynough nedynge
no glose yf yt be well consydered & eue-
ry parte compared with other. ¶ Hard
yt were quod I to fynde eny thyng so
playne that yt shulde nede no glose at
all. ¶ In saythe quod he theye make a
glose to sú textys/ y be as playne as yt
is y twise two make four. ¶ Why quod
I nedeth y no glose at all? ¶ I trow so
quod he. ¶ Or els the deuyll ys o yt/ ¶ I
wyse quod I/ and yet though ye wole
beleue one y wold tell you y twise two
gaders made alway four geese/ yet ye
wolde be aduysed ere ye beleued hym
that wolde tell you y twise two geese
made alway four ganders. For ther-
i might ye be deceyued. And him wold
ye not beleue at all that wolde tell you
that twise two geese wold alway make
four horse. ¶ Cut quod he thys ys a
mery mater. They must be all y twise
twayne alway of one kynde. But geese
and horse be of dyuerse. ¶ Well quod I
than euery man that ys neythere gose
no: horse seeth well y there is one glose
yet. But now quod I the geese and y
ganders be both of one kynde and yet

twise two geese make not alway four
ganders. ¶ A swete mater quod he/ ye
wote what I meane well ynough. ¶ I
thynke I do quod I. but I thinke if ye
byng yt furth yt wyll make a nothere
glose to your texte as playne as your
texte ys/ and ye wyll in all holy scrip-
ture haue no glose at all. And yet wyll
ye haue collacyon made of one texte to
a nother/ and shew how they may be a-
greed to gether as thogh all that were
no glose. ¶ Ye quod he but wold you y
we shulde beleue the chyrch yf yt sett a
glose that wyll in no wyse agree wyth
y text/ but that it aperyth playnly that
the texte well consydered layeth clene
the contrary? ¶ To who dothe y apere
quod I so playnly/ whā yt aperyth one
to you/ and to the hole chyrch a nother?
¶ Yet yf I se yt so quod he/ though ho-
ly doctours & all the hole chyrch wolde
tell me the contrarye/ me thynkethe I
were no moze bounden to beleue them
all y the scripture menith as they take
yt/ than if they wolde all tell me that a
thyng were whyte whych I se my self
ys blak. ¶ Of late quod I ye wolde by-
leue y chyrch in sum thyng. And now
not onely ye wold beleue it in nothig/
but also where as god wold the church
shulde be your iudge/ ye wold now be
iudge ouer the chyrche. And ye wyll by
your wyt be iudge whyther the chyrch
in the vnderstādyng of holy scripture
y god hath wryten to hys chyrche / do
iuge a right or erre. As for your white
& blak/ neuer shall it be y ye shall se the
thig blak y all other shal se white. But
ye may be sure y yf all other se it white
& ye take it for blak/ your eyene be soze
deceyuyd. For y chyrch wyll not I thik
agree to call it other than yt semyth to
thē. And inych matuarle were yt yt ye
shuld i holy scripture se beter thā y old
holy

holy doctours and Cristys hole chyrch.
¶ But furthe quod I ye must consyder
that ye and I do not talke of one doc-
tour oꝝ twayne/ but of the consent and
comen agrement of þe old holy fathers.
¶ Noꝝ that we speke not of the doctryne
of one man oꝝ two in the chyrch/ but of
of the comen consent of the chyrche. we
speke nott also of any sentence taken in
eny text of holy scripture/ wherby ry-
syth no dout oꝝ question of eny necessa-
ry artycle of oure fayth oꝝ rule of oure
lyuynge/ foz in other bye maters may
there be taken of one text. x. senys par-
adventure and all good ynough wyth
out warātyse of the best/ But we speke
of suche two dyuers and contrary sen-
sys taken/ as yf the tone be trew the to-
ther must nedys be false/ and that as I
say concerning some necessary poynte
of oure faythe oꝝ rule of oure lyuynge/
whych is also dependyng vppon fayth
and reducyble therto. As yf one wolde
boldely bꝛeke his vow foz þe he thought
that no man were bounde to kepe any.
Syth poyntys I saye lett vs consyder
they be that wee speke of. And thys re-
membryd betwene vs/ than wyll we sū
what se what your sayng doth pꝛoue.
I shall not myche neede quod I to styk
wyth you in dysputig by what means
the scripture ys vnderstanden/ syth ye
be agreed wyth nature and dyligence
the grace of god must nedys go/ oꝝ els
no dyligence oꝝ help of nature can pꝛe-
uaile. ¶ Noꝝ I wyll nothyng deny you/
but that god may and wyll also/ gyue
hys grace now to vs as he gaue of old
to hys holy doctours/ if there be as much
towardnes and no moze let oꝝ impedy-
mente in our selfe than was in them. I
wyll also graūt yow that we may now
by þe same menys by whych they might
than/ vnderstand the scripture as well

fo. xlii.
as they dyd than/ and I wyll not much
styke wyth you foz one ace better. And
were it not foz the synnys that we sink
in/ we myghte parcase vnderstande yt
beter by quater tre deuce/ hauiḡ theyr
labours therin & oure owne therwyth.
But syth I am so gentyll to graūt you
so many thyng/ I trust ye wyll graūt
me thys one/ that yf any such poynt of
our fayth as god wolde haue me bound-
den to beleue/ they dyd vnderstande þe
scripture one way and we a nother/ be-
yng the tone to the tother so clene con-
trary þe yf the tone were trewe þe tother
must nedys be false/ ye will thā graunte
I say þe either they erre oꝝ we. ¶ That
musste nedys be quod he. ¶ Ye wyll also
graunt quod I that in such poyntys as
we speke of/ the erroure were dampna-
ble. foz we speke of those poyntys one-
ly/ to the beleefe wherof god wyll haue
vs bounden. ¶ I graunt quod he. foz
dampnable were yt in suche case to be-
leue wꝛong. And wꝛong shuld they oꝝ
we beleue if they oꝝ we beleued a wꝛōg
artycle/ because they oꝝ we thoughte þe
the scripture affyrmyd y. And as dāp-
nable were yt and yet much moze/ if we
beleuyd a thyng wherof we beleuyd þe
the scripture affyrmyth þe cōtrary. foz
thē beleuyd we that the scripture were
false. ¶ Thys is q. I very well sayde.
But foz the moze playnnes let vs put
one exāple oꝝ twayn. And what poynt
rather than the artycle to wchynge the
equalite i godhed of our sauour cryste
w hys father. foz yf the cōtrary belefe
were trew/ than were this alway dam-
nable & playne idolatry. ¶ Verry trothe
quod he. ¶ May not quod I the tother
example be the matter that we haue in
hand/ cōcernig sayntes reliques/ inagē
& pylgrynagē. whych thyngys yf yt be
(as ye say many reken yt) ydolatrye/

thā ys yt yet worse to do therein as we
do / than yf our byleefe were wong in
the tothere poynte. And that as myche
worse / as the sayntys or the ymagys
eyther / be worse than þ holy manhode
of Christe. ¶ That ys q he very trew.
¶ Chā q I let the furst point alone be
cause therein wee be all agreed / & speke
of the second yf tholde fathers toke the
scriptures one way & we the contrary.
¶ Though yt myghte be þ we were able
to understād the scriptures as well as
they / yet yf they so understode theun þ
thei thoght this kind of worship not for
beden but cōmaūdid & pleāsūt to god /
& we new men o the tother syde thoght
yt vtterly forbeden & holden for ydola-
try / the tone pte did not in dede vnder-
stand the scripture ryght / but were in
a dampnable erroure. ¶ That wyll no
mā deny q he. ¶ I doute not now q I
but þ your self seeth very well how ma-
ny thigys I might here lay for them to
proue you þ they erred nōt so. Furst
they wyttys as mych as our new mē-
nys / they & plynge as grete / they eru-
dyon & etc. they study as faruent /
they deuotion hōter / they nōber farr
greter / they tyme cōtynued lenger by
many agys perserueng / the contrary
oppyniōs in feto & those alway sone fa-
dyd / they taken alway for catholyke / þ
cōtrary pte for heretykys. Here myght
I lay you the holynes of theyre lyfe & þ
plentye of theyr grace well apperynge
therby. And þ our lord therfore ope-
nyd they eyen & suffred & causyd them
to se þ trothe. And albe yt he vled theri
none open myracle nor sensyble reuela-
cyō / wherof as ye say they none allege
or pted for the profe of theyr opyniōs
in theyr interpretacions of holy scryp-
ture / yet vlyd he the secret supnaturall
meane / by whych his grace assystent yō
good mē þ labour therfore / by inociōs

insensyble to them self / inclynyth they
assent vnto the trewe syde / & that thus
the old holy fathers dyd in the poynt þ
we speke of & in such other / parcerue þ
ryght sēce of holy scripture so farforth
at the lest wyse / as they well knew þ yt
was not cōtrary to theyr beleefe. And
here myghte I lay you also þ yf yt had
bene otherwyse & þ they had therein dā-
nably bene deceyuid / than liuyng & dy-
ēg in dampnable errour they could not
haue bene sayntys / as god god hathe
shewyd thē to be by many a thousand
miracle both i they lyuys & after they
dethys. Wyth thys might I also lay &
very well cōclude / that syth those holy
doctozs and the chyrch / be (as by they
bookys playnely apperethe) all of one
fayth in thys poynt & such other / þ ther-
by well apperyth þ the chyche is in the
treuth / & ys not in the vnderstandyng
of þ scripture þ spekyth of þ mater eny-
thing deceyuid / but they clerely decey-
uyd þ do vnderstand those text of ho-
ly scripture to the contrary. These thy-
gys as I laye and yett many other mo-
myght I lay. But syth ye dyd your self
put the chyrch & them both in one case /
& so they be in dede / I wyll rather pue
you the treuth of them by the treuth of
the chyrch / than þ treuth of þ chyrch by
the treuthe of thē. & so semyth me good
reason. For surely syth they were but
mēbers of hys chyrch / god had hys spe-
cyall cure vppon them moſte especyall
for the profyte of his churche / by whose
hole corps he moze settyth than by eny
member therof / saynt / apostle / euange-
lyst / or other. And therfore must I yet
ask you agayn whether the chyrch may
haue eny dampnable errour in þ fayth
by mystakig of scripture or otherwise.
¶ That ys q he sumwhat hard to tell.
¶ Now quod I sumwhat I meruaile
that ye remember not þ your self hath

agreed all redy/ þ these word^s of Christ
spoken vnto Peter I haue prayd that
thy fayth shall neuer fayle/ were not o-
ly ment by the fayth i Peter hys owne
persō/ but also by the fayth of þ chyrch.
For to hym was yt spoken as hed of þ
chyrche: Yes I remember q he ryght
well þ I agreede yt. But I remember
also þ not wstanding mine agremente
ye were content þ we shulde enserch a
gayn and agayne þ matere otherwyle
bylyde/ wherein myne agrement shuld
not binde me. ¶ Lo quod I that had
I forgottē agayne But let it thā alone
for þ whye and tell me this. Wyde not
Christe entende to gader a floke & con-
gregacyon of peole þ shulde serue god
and be hys specyall peole: Yes quod
he that ys very trouthe/ for so saye the
playne scrypture of Christe in sondry
placys. As where the fathere of heuen
sayeth vnto Christe in þ psalme/ Pos-
tula a me & dabo tibi gentes heredita-
tem tuam/ aske of me and I shall geue
the paynym peole for thyne enheri-
taunce. & many other placys. And els
vndowtedly hys hole cōmynge had bene
in maner frustrate & in vayne. ¶ That
people quod I whych shulde be a chery-
taunce yd he entende shulde endure
for hys owne dayes oly while he lyued
here/ or els that ye shulde go forth & cō-
tinue long after. ¶ Nay quod he that
shall cōtinue whyle the worlde lasteth
here tyll dooms daye/ & after in heuen
eternally. ¶ Shall this peple q I haue
amonge theym the knowlege & vnder-
standynge what he wolde they shulde
do to please god wythe all: Ye q he.
¶ Whyther shall they quod I haue thys
knowlege for a while i the bygyng
& than lese yt/ or shall they haue it styll
as longe as they contynue: ¶ Here he
bygā a litle to stagger. why quod I cā
ye call the hys peple any lenger yf they

lese þ knowlege how to serue hym and
please hym: yf they for sooth to do theyr
duty as slake seruauntys sūtyme do/
yet may they mend & do beter a nother
tyme. But yf they lese the knowlege of
theyr duty/ it is wett they nere which
way to mend/ As he that knoweth for-
nicacyon for syn/ may fall by frayletye
to fornicacyon. But lyth he knowethe
yt for nought/ though he sinnid more
in þ doynge than yf he had not knowen
the prohybycyon/ yet doth þ knowlege
gyue hym warnynge and occacyon of
repentaunce and amendment/ whych
must nedys lack yf he had lost þ know-
lege. ¶ Alþo this he graūted þ it must
nedys be that thys peple muste nedys
haue alwaye the knowlege how to serue
and please our lord/ or els they ceased
to be hys peple. ¶ Is not this peple q
I called þ chyrch: Yes quod he. ¶ Chā
the chyrch quod I alway hath & alway
shall by your realō haue the knowlege
& vnderstādig/ how god may be seruid
and pleased. ¶ Trouth q he ¶ Is quod
I that knowlege fully had wout the kno-
lege of such thinge as god bideth vs to
beleue: Nay q he. what if we knew the
i such wise q I as we could reherse the
ō our fingers edys & yet byleuyd theym
not to be trewe/ wolde thys knowlege
serue: ¶ In no wyle q he. for yf ye by-
leued the to be false/ though ye so knew
thi þ ye could reherse theym by rowe/
ye could take no warnig by the to please
& serue god with the/ which is the cause
wherfore the chyrch shulde of necessitye
know the. This is q I very well sayd.
thā lity ye graūt þ þ chyrch shall euer e-
dure/ & þ it could not edure wout þ kno-
lege of such thinge as may please god/ noz
thos thinge can be all known i knowlege
laked of those thinge þ god byndeth vs
to beleue/ noz þ knowlege of the eny thing
sarue to the knowlege & warnig geue vs

of goddys pleasure but yf we not only
can tell theym but also byleue theym/
whyche bylyfse ye graunte ys callede
fayth/of thys yt cōsequently foloweth
that the chyrche alwayes hathe and all
ways shall haue the knowlege and by-
lyfse of such thyngys as god wyll haue
yt boundē to byleue. ¶ That is trouthe
q̄ he because god hath lefte holy scryp-
ture to þ chyrch/and therein ys all/and
þ chyrch byleuyth that to be trew. and
therfoze therein & therby hath the chyrch
all that warnyng and lernyng of god-
des pleasure that ye speke of/wythout
whyche yt cā not endure. ¶ What if god
quod I had lefte þ scripture to þ chyrch
lokked vp in a close cheste/and that no
man shuld loke therein/wold that haue
seruyd. ¶ Nay pde quod he. ¶ What if
he had lefte hyt open & wrytten in such
wyle that no mā coud rede yt. ¶ That
were all one quod he. ¶ What yf euery
man quod I could rede yt and no man
vnderstād yt. ¶ As lytle wold yt serue
quod he as the tother. ¶ Than quod I
syth yt seruyth the chyrch to lerne god-
dys pleasure theri/and that can yt not
as ye graunte your self but yf þ chyrch
vnderstande yt/yt foloweth of thys þ
the chyrch vnderstandeth it. And thus
euery way for the fayth and knowlege
of goddys pleasure yf yt be as ye saye
all knowen by the scripture & no parte
otherwyle/yet alway to this poynt ye
byng yt in the ende/þ the chyrch hath
the sure knowlege thereof. And than
yf þ be so/ye shall not as ye lately sayd
ye shulde/in eny dyuerse text of scrip-
ture semyng to make a dowtouse arty-
cle of our fayth/and to byng in ques-
tyone what we be bounden to byleue/
after ye haue red i scripture all that cā
be red/and herd on both sydes all that
can be sayd/than take whyche parte se

meth to your self inoste probable. For
yf ye stand styll for all þ in a dowt / thā
after your bytter prayers made to god
for hys grace & gyde i þ choysse/go take
you the tone parte at aduenture and
cleue therto/as though ye were sure by
your confidence in god/that hys grace
had inclined your assēt to þ surer syde.
But sith he hath the wyd yow playne-
ly by reason that he hathe geuyn hys
chyrch in all such thyngs knowlege of
the trouthe/ ye wyll take the sure way
and put your self out of all perplexitie/
yf in the poynte yt self & the scriptures
that touch it/ye take for the truth that
way that the chyrch terythe you theri/
how so euer the mater seme bylyde vn-
to your selfe or to eny man els.

The.xxix.chapter

¶ The authoꝝ proueth by scripture
that god instructeth the chyrche of
Chryste/in euery trouthe necessary
ly requesyte for our saluacyon.

Ruly q̄ he ye wynde yt well
aboute. But yet ye made as
though ye wolde haue shew-
ed that god had in scripture told me/
that he had & euer wold tell hys chyrch
the trouthe in all suche maters. And
now ye byng yt to the poynte/not þ
holy scripture tellythe me the tale but
māys reaso. And suerly as I shewed
you byfoze/I dare not well truste rea-
son in maters of fayth & of holy scrip-
ture. ¶ I bygane quod I to proue yt
you by scripture/and ye than put me
out in the bygynnyng. How be yt thys
reason hath scripture for hys founda-
cyon and grounde. And thogh yt sum
what bilde farther theron/yet is it not
reason alway to be mystrusted where
fayth standyth not agaynst it/noz god
sayeth not the contrary. Excepte reaso
be so farr out of credēce with you that
ye wyll

ye wyll not nowe beleue hym yf he tell
 you that twyse twayne make foure. I
 wene ye wyll fare by reson as one dyd
 os by a falle shrew. he sware yf he wold
 not for .xx. li. heere hym say hys crede.
 For he knew him for such a lyer that he
 thoght he shuld neuer beleue hys crede
 after yf he had yt onys of his mouth.
 How be yt quod I lett vs yet see why-
 ther god hym self in scripture tell you
 the same tale or no. God tellyth you in
 scripture yf he wold be wyth his chyrch
 to the ende of the worlde. I thynke ye
 dowte not therof but those wordys he
 spake to the hole chyrch that than was
 and that euer shalbe from thapostles
 dayes cotinued tyll the ende of y world.
 ¶ That i good fayth quod he must ne-
 dys be so. Tha were thys i good fayth
 ynough quod I for oure purpose / syth
 no mā dowteth wherfoze he wyll be w
 his chyrch / excepte we shulde thynke yf
 he wolde be therwythe for nothyng.
 wherefore shulde he be wyth yt but to
 kepe yt & prelerue yt wyth thassystence
 of hys gracyous presēce from spyrytu-
 all myschiese specially / and of all other
 speccally from infidelyrie and from i-
 dolatrye / whych was the speccall thig
 from whych he called hys chyrch owt of
 the gentylls. whych els as for morall
 vertewes & polypcally yf they had nott
 lackyd the ryght cause and ende of re-
 ferryng the yre actys to god / were ma-
 ny of them not far vnder many of vs.
 Let vs go ferther. Doth he not i p. xiiii
 xv. and. xvi. chapyter of saynte Johñ a
 gayn and agayne repete / that after his
 goyng he wyll cum agayne to theym /
 And sayth he wyll not leue them orpha-
 nys as fatherles chyldern / but wyll cū
 to them agayn hym selfe. Let vs adde
 now therunto the wordys bifoze reher-
 sed / that he wyll be wyth theym tyll the

worlde's ende / and yt aperyth playne yf
 he mente all thys by hys hole chyrche yf
 shulde be to the worlde's ende. ¶ Whā he
 sayd vnto the I call you frenow / for all
 that I haue harde of my father I haue
 made knowene to you / he spake as to
 hys perpetuall chyrch and not to thap-
 postles alone / but if he sayd to them
 alone these wordys also I comaunde
 that ye loue eche other / so yf none shuld
 loue eche other after but onely they.
 ¶ Now lesse the thyngys that he taught
 theym shulde by the chyrch after be for
 gotten / whych was more to be dowted
 than of theym self that hard it / he sayd
 vnto theym also / These thyngys quod
 he haue I spoken to you abidinge here
 wyth you. But the comforter whych is
 the holy goste whō me father shall send
 i my name / he shall tech you all thyng /
 and he shall put you in mynde and re-
 memberaunce of all thyng that I shall
 haue sayd vnto you. So that here ye se
 that he shall agayn alway tech yf chyrch
 of new / the olde lessons of Chryst. And
 he sayd also to theym / yf thys comfort-
 ter thys holy gost yf spyryte of trouthe /
 shulde be sente to abide wyth them for
 euer / whych can not be mente but of yf
 hole chyrche. For the holy gooste was
 not sente hyther into the erthe here to
 dwell wythe the appostles for euer / for
 they dwelled not so long here. ¶ Now yf
 the spryte of trouthe shall dwell in the
 chyrche for euer / how cā yf chyrche erre
 in perceyvinge of the trouthe / in such
 thyngys I mene as god wyll bynd the
 to know or shalbe necessary for theym
 to know. For onely of such thig mēt
 oure lord / whā he sayd that the holy
 goste shall teche theym all thyng. For
 as saynte Doule sayeth / the manifesta-
 cyon and shewyng of yf spyryte / ys to
 the vtilitie & profyt. This holy spyrite
 also

also was not promysed by our saulour
 chryst / y he shulde onely tell hys chyrch
 agayne hys wordes / but he sayd fers-
 ther / I haue quod he besydes all thys
 many thynges to say to you / but ye be
 not able to bere theim now. But whā
 he shall cum y is the spyryte of trouth /
 he shall lede you in to all trouthe. Lo
 our lord sayd not that the holy goost
 shuld write vnto his chyrch all trouth /
 but that he shuld lede theim by secrete
 insperacyon and inclynacyon of theyr
 hartes in to all trouth / in whyche must
 nedes be conceyued bothe inforinacyō
 and ryghte byleue of euery necessary
 article / and of the ryght and trew sēse
 of holy scripture / as farre as shall be
 requysite to conserue the chyrche from
 eny dampnable errour. ¶ Now whan
 the holy goost shall by goddes pmyse /
 be for thys purpose abydyng in the
 chyrch for euer / and Chryste hym selfe
 hath also sayd that he wyl not leue hys
 chyrch as orphanys / but wyl cum hym
 selfe / a be wyth yt vnto the ende of the
 world / and sayeth also that hys father
 ys in hym and he in hys father / and y
 hys father and he be bothe one thyng /
 not bothe one persone but bothe one
 substaunce / and wyth the holy gooste
 bothe one god / than must yt nedes fo-
 low that to the worldys ende / there ys
 wyth the chyrch resydent the hole try-
 nitye. whose assystence beyng to the
 chyrche perpetuall / how can yt at any
 tyme fall from trew fayth to falle er-
 rous and heresyas?

The. xxx. chapter

¶ Where as y messēger had thought
 byfore / that yt were herde to bylue
 any thyng certeynly saue holy scryp-
 ture though the chyrche dyd agre
 therein and commaunde yt / the Au-
 thore sheweth that sauing for thau-

thorite of the chyrch / men could not
 knowe what scripture they sholde
 byleue. And here ys hrt shewed y
 god wyl not suffer the chyrch to be
 deceyued in y choyce of y very scryp-
 ture of god from eny counterfete.

¶ Now ys yt I suppose well a
 clerely proued by scripture
 the thyng that I promysed /
 that ys to wytt that the chyrche cā not
 erre in any suche substauncyall article
 as god wyl haue vs bounden to byleue.
 ¶ But yet for as myche as ye regarde
 nothyng but scripture onely / thys
 wolde I sayne wytte of you whyther
 ye byleue that chryste was borne of a
 vyrgyn. ¶ What els quod he. ¶ Why by-
 leue you y quod I. ¶ The gospel shew-
 eth me so quod he. ¶ What yt yt dyd
 not quod I / were thā your crede oute
 of credence but yt he byynge wytnesse
 wyth hym. ¶ The crede quod he ys a
 thyng by yt selfe. ¶ Yet ys yt quod I
 no parte of y gospel as y pater noster
 ys. And yet I thynke yt gospel had
 neuer bene wyrtē / ye wolde haue by-
 leued your crede. ¶ So thynke I to y
 he. ¶ And wherfore y I / but for by cau-
 se y chyrch shuld haue shewed you so.
 But let our crede alone a whyle and
 go we to the gospel selfe. whych gospel
 telleth you y cryste was borne of a vy-
 gyn. ¶ The gospel of seynt luke quod
 he. ¶ How knowe you y q I. ¶ For I
 rede yt so quod he in the booke. ¶ Ye
 rede y I suche a boke. But how know
 yow that saynt Luke made yt. ¶ How
 knowe I quod he other boks / but by y
 they bere the namys of theyre authours
 wyrtē vppō them. ¶ Know you yt wel
 therby quod I. ¶ Many bookes be there
 that haue fallie inscrypcyons / and are
 not the bookes of theym y they be na-
 med by. ¶ That ys trouth q he. But
 yet

yet though men dyd peradventure erre
and fayle i the name/as if he shulde re-
pute a boke of **S**tones to be made by
Citus **L**ivius whych he neuere made
but su other honest cūnig mā/yet were
the boke nether lesse elygaunt noz lesse
trewe therfoze. **N**oz in lyke wyse if the
chyrche dyd mysse take the very name
of sum euāgelyste & gospel/yet were
the gospel neuere y lesse trewe. **¶** **C**hat
ys quod **I** well sayde. But how be ye
sure that the mater of y boke ys trewe?
¶ **W**ary quod he for **I** am. **¶** **C**hat ys
quod **I** the reaso y a mayde layeth for
het owne knowlege of het maydēhed.
But she coulde tell a nothere how she
knoweth she hath yt/sauynge that she
ys lothe to cū so nere as to be a know-
en that she coulde tell how she myghte
lese yt. But here ys no such fere. **T**ell
me therfoze whereby wot ye that y ma-
ter of that booke ys trewe? **¶** **I** thynke
quod he y god sheweth me so. **¶** **C**hat
ys well thought quod **I**. But he tolde
yt you not mouth to mouth. **¶** **N**o q
he. But he hath tolde yt to other in the
bygynnyng or els yt was well know-
en in the bygynnyng whan he wrote
yt. And he was knowen and byleuyde
by hys luyng/and the myracles that
god dyd for hi. And after that yt was
onis knowē/the knowlege went forth
fro mā to mā. And god hath so wrought
wryth vs that we byleue yt bycause the
hole chyrche hath alway done so byfoze
our dāres. **¶** **N**ow cum you quod **I**
to the very poynte. for many thyngys
hath bene trewe y in pꝛocys after haie
lesse to be byleuyd. And many a thing
hath in the bygynnyng bene known
for false/and yet hath after happed to
be byleuyd. But the gospels and holy
scripture/god prouydeth that though
percase sum of it may perishe & be losse

whereby they myghte haue harme but
not fall in errour. (for the fayth shulde
stande though the scripturys were all
gon) yet shall he neuere suffer his chyrch
to be deceyued in that poynt/that they
shall take for holy scripture eny boke y
ys not. And therfore layeth holy saynt
Aullē/**I** shuld not byleue the gospel/
but yf yt were for the chyrche. And he
layeth good reasone. **F**or were yt not
for the spyryte of god keping y trouth
therof in hys chyrch/who could be sure
whych were the very gospels? **T**here
were many that wꝛot the gospel. And
yet hath the chyrch by secrete instinct
of god/reiectyde the remenaunte and
choien oute these foure for the sure vn-
dowted trewe. **¶** **C**hat ys quod he sure
so. **¶** **C**hys ys quod **I** so sure so/y **A**u-
ther hym selfe ys dꝛyupn of necessitye
to graunte thys/or els he perceyuyth y
there were none holde noz surtie i scrip-
ture yt selfe/yf the chyrch myght be suf-
frede by god to be deceyued in y poynt
& to take for holy scripture y wryting
that in dede were not. And therfoze he
confessyth that thys muste nedys be a
sure infallible grounde/that god hath
geuyn thys giste vnto hys chyrch/that
hys chyrche cā alway dyscerne y word
of god fro the worde of mē. **¶** **I**n good
faythe quod he that muste nedys be so/
or els all wolde fayle. **¶** **Q**uod **I** than
ye that wolde byleue the chyrche in no
thinge/noz giue sure credence to y tra-
dycon of the chyrch but yf yt were prou-
ed by scripture/nor se yt prouyd to
you/that ys coulde not byleue y scrip-
ture but yf yt were proued to be scrip-
ture by the iudgemente and tradycō
of the chyrch. **¶** **N**o quod he but when
I haue lerned onys of the chyrch/that
yt ys holy scripture and the worde of
god/than **I** bileue it better than **I** by-
leue all

leue al the chyrche. I myght by a lycht
 persone sumtyme know a mych more
 substancyall mā. And yet whā I know
 hym I wyll byleue hym mych beter thā
 hym by whome I know hym if they va-
 ried i a tale and were cōtrary. ¶ Good
 reason quod J. But the chyrch bidoth
 you not byleue the cōtrary of that the
 scripture sayeth. But he telleth you y
 in such placys as ye wold better bileue
 the scripture than the chyrche/there ye
 vnderstand not y scripture. For what
 so euer wordys yt spekyth/yet yt me-
 anyth not the contrary of that y chyrch
 techeth you. And the chyrch can not be
 deceyued in any such weghtye poynt.
 ¶ Whereby shall I knowe q he? ¶ Why
 be we at y poynt yet quod J. haue we
 so sone forgotten the perpetuall assys-
 tence of the trynyte in hys chyrch/and
 the prayoure of Chryste to kepe y fayth
 of hys chyrche fro faylige/and the holy
 gost seare of purpose to kepe i y chyrch
 the remembraunce of Chryst word
 and to lede thein in to all trouthe: what
 wold yt haue profited to haue put you
 i the remembraunce of the assystenle
 of god w the chylderne of Israell wal-
 kyng wyth thē in the cloude by day/ & i
 the pyler of fyre by nyght in theyr erth-
 ly viage/and therby to haue prouyde
 you the mych more specyall assystence
 of god wyth hys christē chyrch in theyr
 spyrytuall byage/wherein hys espy-
 all goodnes well declarith his tender
 delygence/by that he dothe vouchsafe
 to assyste and comforte vs wyth the cō-
 tynuall ptesence of hys ptesious body
 in the holy sacramente: All this wolde
 not helpe/yf manyfeste reasone that I
 made you/and euident scripture that
 I cherlyd you/ can not yet prynte in
 your harte a perceyving that thassys-
 tence of god in hys chyrche must nedis

pteserue hys chyrche frō all damnable
 errours in y fayth/and giue his chyrch
 so ferforth the vnderstandyng of scrip-
 ture/that they may well perceyue y no
 parte therof well vnderstande/ & adith
 agaynstē eny artycle that the chyrche
 bileuith/as pcell of theyr christē fayth.
 ¶ Maye q he I perceyue yt well whan
 I remember it/ but it was not redy in
 remembraunce.

The. xxxi. chapyter

¶ In that the chyrche can not erre in
 the choyse of the trew scripture/ the
 authoz prouyde by the reaso whych
 the kyngys hyghnes in hys noble &
 most famous boke obiectith agaynst
 luther/that the chyrche can not erre
 in the necessari vnderstandyng of
 scripture. And finally thauthoz in
 this chapyter doth breuely recapitule
 certayn of the pryncypall poyntys y
 be byfore proued. And therwyth en-
 deth the fyrste booke.

Et wold I quod I aske you
 y one thyng wherfore thinke
 you wyll not Chryste suffer
 hys chyrche to be deceyued in y desce-
 ninge of holy scripture frome othere
 wrytyng/and suffer theym to take a
 boke of holy scripture/that were none
 in dede: ¶ Leste mē might quod he of
 sum false boke reputed holy scripture/
 haue grete occacyon geuyn them to cō-
 ceptue a wronge dyctryne and wronge
 opinions of y fayth/yf god wold suffer
 hys chyrch to take a false deuyled boke
 for holy scripture & for hys owne holy
 wordys. ¶ Ye say quod I very trouche.
 Now what yf in the very scripture he
 shuld suffer hys chyrche mysse take the
 very sentence in a matter substanciall
 of our fayth/were they not in lyke pell
 to fall by false vnderstandyng i to like
 erroz/as they might by false wrytig?
 yea

Ches that they were quod he.
Fozloth quod I so were they and in
 myche more. Foz in a false booke myl-
 taken for scripture / though they had
 yt in neuer so hygh reuerence for lonie
 good thynges that they founde in yt/
 and therby sholde haue great occasyon
 to byleue the false errors wyrtten
 in the same / yet haupng as the chyrche
 alwaye shall haue / the trewe faythe /
 fyrst in harte they sholde fynde many
 shyftys to kepe oute the errors. But
 now yf they falsely shold vnderstand
 the trewe scripture / there were no
 waye to scape frome dampnable er-
 rours. And therfore may I say to you
 as the kyngys hyghnes most prudently
 layd vnto Luther / syth god wyll not
 suffre hys chyrche to myltake a booke
 of scripture for patell of dampnable
 errors that myght ensue thereon / and
 lykeparel may there ensue by the myl-
 construyng of the sentence as by the
 mylstakinge of the boke / yt must ned-
 folowe that god wyll in thyngys of
 our fayth no more suffre theym to take
 a false sentence for trewe / than to take
 a false booke for scripture. And wyth
 this reason hys hyghnes concluded hym
 so clerely / that he durst neuer synnys
 for shame touche that poynt agayne /
 noz eny colour coulde lay / but that bpō
 hys owne confessyon in all substaun-
 cyall poyntys concernynge the faythe
 oz knowlege of vertue pleasaunt to
 god / the chyrche hath so ryght vnder-
 standynge of scripture / that yt well &
 trewly perceyueth / that no text therein
 can be ryght vnderstanden / agaynst
 eny actycle that y chyrche byleueth for
 thyng to be byleued of necessitye. And
 this poynt durst he neuer synnys touch

noz make answer thereto / all be yt
 the kyngys hyghnesse wyth this one
 poynt alone playnly turneth bppe and
 dydroyeth the grounde and fundacye
 of all the heresyes that Luther wolde
 haue bplyned. And therfore of all thyng
 ys had Luther grettest cause to an-
 swere this poynt eternally / and wold
 vndoubtedly yf he hadde wyllt howe.
Surely quod your frend I meane
 not though he dyde not. For this poynt
 is so clere he coulde not / and I am here
 in fully satisfyed. **C**han be you
 I satisfyed in this also / that the fayth
 of the chyrche is a ryght rule to carry
 wyth you to the study of scripture / to
 shape you the vnderstandynge of the
 textis by / and so to take theym as they
 maye alwayes agte therewythall.
Be yt quod he. **C**han are ye quod
 I also fully answered in this that y
 where ye sayd ye sholde not byleue the
 chyrche tellyng a tale of theyr owne /
 but onely tellynge your scripture / ye
 nowe perceyue that in suche thyngys
 as we speke of / that is to wytte ne-
 cessarye poyntys of oure faythe / yf
 they tell you a tale whyche yf yt
 were false were dampnable / ye muste
 byleue and maye be sure that sythe the
 chyrche can not in suche thynges erre /
 yt is very trewe all that the chyrche
 in suche thyngys telleth you. And
 that yt is not theyre owne woerde but
 the woerde of god though yt be not in
 scripture. **C**hat appereth well quod
 he. **C**han are ye y as fully satisfy-
 fyed that where ye lately sayd that ye
 were a dylobedpēce to god & preferryg
 of y chyrch before hym self / yf ye shall
 byleue y chyrch in such thyng as god
 in hys holy scripture saythe hym self
 the

the contrary/ye nolo perceyue yt can in
no wyse be so. But syth hys chyrche in
suche thyngys as we speke of can not
erre/yt is impossible that þ scripture
of god can be contrary to the fayth of þ
chyrch. ¶ That is very trewe quod he.
¶ Than yt is as trewe quod I that ye
be fether fully answered in the pryn-
cypall poynt/ that the scriptures layd
agaist ymagys & pylgrymagys & wo-
shipp of sayntes/ make no thing agaynst
theym. And also that those thyngys/
ymagys I meane and pylgrymagys &
prapeng to sayntes/ are thyngys good
& to be had i honour in Crystys chyrch/
syth the chyrch beleueth so. whych as
ye graunte and se cause why ye so shold
graunte/ can in suche poyntys not be
suffred for the spetiall assystence of god
and instructyon of the holy ghoost to
fall in erroz. And so be we for this ma-
ter at last wyth mych wothe comen to
an ende. And therfore wyl we now to
dynet. And your other obiectyons that
ye haue layd/ by whych ye wolde pro-
ue those thinges repuable & make them
seme ydolatre/ whych we defetted
afore/ those wyl we talke of after dy-
net. ¶ By my trouthe/ quod he I ha-
ue a nother tale to tell you þ all thys
gere graunted/ turnyth vs yet in to as
mych vncertayntye as we were in be-
fore. ¶ Ye q I thā haue we well wal-
ked after þ balade/ The fether I go
þ more behynde. I pray you what thig
is that. For that long I to here yet ere
we go. ¶ Nay quod he yt were better
ye dyne synte. My lady wyl I wene
be angry wyth me/ that I kepe you so
longe thereto. For I hold yt now well
towards twelue. And yet more angry
wolde wate wyth me yf I sholde ma-
ke you syt and muse at your mete/ as

ye wolde. I wote well muse on the ma-
ter yf ye wylde what yt were. ¶ If I
were quod I lyke my wyfe I sholde
make more theron now & ere no mete
for longynge to knowe. But come on
than and let vs dyne fyrst/ and ye shal
tell vs after.

¶ The end of the
fyrst boke.

The seconde boke.

fo. xlviij.

The seconde boke,

The fyrst chaptyer.

The messenger recapitelyng certayne thyngys befoze proued / & for hys parte agreynge that the chyrch of Cryst can not in eny necessary article of f sayth fall in eny dampnable error / doth put in dowte & question whyche is the very chyrch of Cryst / alledgyng that they peradventure whom we call heretyques wyl say that theym selfe is f chyrch and not we. wherof the authoz sheweth the contrary / declaryng wherby we may know f they ca not be f chyrch:



fter dynetwe wal-
ked in to f gardyn.
And there shortly
spitting in an arber/
began to go forth
in our mater / des-
crynge hym to shew
what thyng myght that be / that ma-
de our lōge fornone processe frustrat/
and leste vs as vncertayn as we begā.
Syz q he that shall f shortly shew
you. where as there was pryncypally
in questyon whyther worshyping of
ymagys and relyques / and prayeng to
saintys / and goyng on pylgrymages /
were lawfull oz not / & that f put you
in mynde that mē layd agaynst theym
certayne tertys of holy scripture / and
also sayd vnto you f y semed the text
self whyche be the wordys of god were
of more authozpte agaynst theym thā
the gloys of men / that in suche wyse

expowne the tertys as they may seme
to make for theym / ye layd on the o-
ther syde the consent and agreement &
comē catholyke sayth of the chyrche /
whyche ye sayd / and in dede to say the
trowth both by reason and by scripture
ye proued / that yt cowlde not be erro-
nyouse / and that the chyrch coulde not
erre in the sayth that god wolde haue
knownen and blyeued. ye proued f ma-
ter also by myzacles. In whych whan
f layd dyuers thynges mouynge men
to dowte / partly lest they were not
trew / but specially lest they were
not done by god for corroboration of
the sayth / but were percase by goddys
sufferaunce done by the deuyll for our
delusyon / deseryng so to be serued by
our fallynge frome the worshyppe of
god hym selfe to the worshyppe of hys
creaturys / ye proued me yet agayne
that f myzacles were trew / and that
they must nedys be done by god. And
that ye proued me by this that yt shold
ellys folowe / that the chyrche had a
wzonge blyeue & a dampnable. whych
estesonys ye proued well and substan-
cially to be impossible. And for as mych
as there fell in the waye / occasyon to
speke of the contrarye that semed
sometyme to fall bytwene the tertys
of holy scripture selfe and the comē per-
suasio and sayth of the chyrch / where
f sayd that yt was thought reasona-
ble to blyeue f scripture beyng goddys
owne wordys rather than the wordys
of men / ye therein proued that the co-
mē sayth of the chyrche was as well
goddys owne word as was holy scrip-
ture self / and of as grete authozpte.
And that no student in scripture shold
presume to trye examyn and iudge the
catholyke sayth of Cryst chyrch by f
scripture

Ill.

Ecce enim populi
miserunt

The seconde booke.

scripture/ but by the catholyque sayth
of Crystys chyrche sholde examyne &
expolone the terryss of scripture. And
that in the study of scripture this were
the sure waye/ wherein sholde gyue
ye sayde grete lyght the wyrtynge of
the olde holy doctours/ wherby we be
ascerteyned that the sayth that the chyr-
che hath now/ is the same saythe and
the same poyntes that they had than
of olde in euery age and euery tyme.
And in this parte ye proued yet agayn
by reason and holy scripture/ that the
chyryche hathe by the techynge of god
and the holy ghoost the ryght vnder-
standynge of scripture/ in all poyntes
that are of necessitye to be knownen.
And theruppon celsionys ye deduced &
proued that no terte of the scripture
well vnderstanden coulde stande aga-
ynst the woosshyppe of ymages &
relyques and the sekynge of pylgry-
mages/ but that all these thynges be
well proued good and pleasaunte to
god/ and the myracles done in suche
placys done by god/ sythe hys speyall
assyste so informenth and enstructeth
hys chyrche in so grete and so substanti-
all an article so hyghly touchynge
the honour or dyshonour of god/ that
yt can not be suffred to fall to supersty-
cyon and ydolatry in stede of saythe
and honour done to god. And thys is
q he as far as I remembre p hole sothe
and effecte of all that hath hitherto
ben proued bytwene vs. ¶ Wertur
quod I. And thys is of you very well
remembred/ and well and summarly
reherced. ¶ But now quod he all thys
gere graunted we be neuer the nere.
¶ Why so quod I. ¶ Why quod he
for a man that byleued the woosshyp of
ymages to be wronge and vnlawfull

myght graunte that that the chyrche
doth not erre/ and that the chyrch hath
the ryght saythe/ and that the chyr-
che doth not myse take the scripture.
And whan all thys were agreed/ he
myght saye that the chyrche peraduen-
ture doth not byleue as ye say it doth.
For he myght happely denye the chyr-
che to be that people that ye take yt
for/ and saye that yt is the people that
byleueth as he byleueth/ that is to wy-
te all these kyndes of woosshyppe to be
wronge/ and that byleueth them who
ye take for the chyrche to byleue wron-
ge. ¶ If he and hys company quod I
be the chyrche/ he must tell where hys
felawes be. ¶ Why so q he p me shol-
de aske you and me where the chyrche
is/ we coulde tel no one place but ma-
ny dyuers countrees. ¶ Let hym quod
I in lyke wyse assygne some compa-
nyes that be knownen for congrega-
cyons to gether in dyuers countrees.
¶ Why quod he in the begynnynge and
a good whyle after/ p chyrche of Cryst
in euery place bydde yt selfe/ that men
coulde not tell in eny countre where
they were/ nor durste not come outs
and shewe theym selfe. ¶ That was
in the begynnynge quod I whyle the
persecucion lasted. But whan the per-
secucion ceased onys/ yt was soone kno-
wen in euery countre where the chyr-
che was. ¶ Mary quod he p I sholde
take p part/ I wolde happely say p in p
case yt is styll/ and that the chyrch is
that company peradventure that ye
whyche call youte selfe the chyrche do
use to call heretyques/ whyche now
do knowe one a nother well ynough/
and call theym selfe and theyre felo-
wes aboute the woorld the very chyr-
che/ though they dare not professe yt
openly

openly/breawse that ye that call your
 selfe the chyrche and theym herety-
 ques / do persecute theym as the chyr-
 che of the Daynyms dyd in þ begyn-
 nyng. And therfore they do hyde the
 selfe as the chyrche dyd in the begyn-
 nyng. But and yf ye wold cease your
 persecucion onys / and let theym lyue
 in reste / ye sholde se theym flocke toge-
 ther soo faste / that they sholde soone
 shew you the chyrch wyth a wete kyn-
 get. ¶ They myght quod I peraduen-
 ture shewe a shrowde sozte wythin a
 wchyle yf they were suffred / and the
 chyrche that the prophete Dauid spe-
 keth of / *Odi ecclesiam malignantiu* /
 I hate the chyrch of malycious men.
 But they shall neuer shewe them selfe
 the chyrche of Cryste . The chyrche
 of Cryste where so euer yt was in all
 the persecucion / bled to come together
 to the prechynge and prayer thoughte
 ye were preuely in woodys or secrete
 howys. They vled also the sacramen-
 tes amonge theym selfe / as baptysme /
 confyrmacyon / matrimony / holy or-
 der / prestys and bysshoppes amonge
 theym / fastyngys / bygyls kepte / the
 sondayes halowed / the masse sayde /
 holy seruyce songe / and theyre people
 howelyd / as well appereth not onely
 by the stozes of the chyrche / but also
 of the Daynyms. And partly well ap-
 pereth by a pylle of *Plinie* wyrtten to
 the Emperour Traiane. And such thyng-
 ys must there be therein / yf yt be eny
 chyrche or congregacyon of Cryste .
 Now these people that ye speke of ble
 no suche thyngys amonge theym selfe /
 and therfore they can not be the chyr-
 che of Cryste . ¶ They preche quod be
 preuely amonge theym selfe / and all
 the remanant they doo in our chyr-

ches. ¶ This quod I playnely proueth
 that they can not be þ chyrch of Cryste .
 For the chyrche of Cryste euer fledde
 and forbore þ temples in wyche ydo-
 lys and māmetyes were. And yt was
 a playne renayng of Crysteys saythe /
 to do eny obsecraunce thereto / thoughte
 they dyde yt onely wyth theyre bodyes
 for fere / and thought the cōtrary wyth
 theyre herte. For our lord saythe / he
 that denyeth me before the world / I
 wyll denye hym before my fader in
 heuyn. And holy scripture sayth *Spi-
 ritus sanctus effugiet fictum*. The ho-
 ly ghoost fleeth frome saynyng. But
 these men whom you call the chyrche
 come to the chyrches where the yma-
 ges be wyche they take for ydolls /
 and there they come to scrupce wyth
 ys whom they take for ydolaters. And
 where they teche amonge theym selfe
 that we do nowght / they come to our
 chyrche as I saye / and in face of the
 world they do the same / knels to yma-
 gys as we do / set by candellys as we
 do / pray to sayntys as we do / and hap-
 pely moze lowde wyth theyre mowthes
 wchyle they moche theym wyth theyre
 bartis. And our thys many moche al-
 so the sacramentys wyche they recey-
 ue . ¶ And thys putteth me in mynde
 also that besydys all thys / ye can not
 say that these be the chyrch whom we
 call heretyques / but ye must tell wy-
 che kynde of theym is the chyrche. For
 all can not be / sythe the chyrch is and
 must be all of one bylene / and haue all
 one saythe. And as yt was wyrtten in
 þ actes of þ appostles. *Erat multitudo
 credentiu animas una et eoz bñi*. The
 multitude of saythfull bylenyng men
 were all of one mynde and of one har-
 te. And in the chyrch is þ holy ghoost /
 qui

The second booke.

qui facit unanimes in domo / whyche
maketh all of one mynde in þe hous of
god / þe is in þe chyrch. But as for amōg
heretiques / there be as many dyuers
myndes almost as there be men. ¶ The
chyrche of Crist also is a thyng that
alway standeth and cōtinued. But
þe sects of heretiques & the chyrches
never continued but ever shortly de-
cayed and vanysshed quite away / so
forsothe that of all the olde hereti-
ques the booke also be gone and losse /
whan there was no lawe made yet to
burne them / so that it is ethe to se / that
god hym selfe destroyed theym / and þe
wold clene gane theym up at some ty-
me / though new heretiques now lon-
ge after take theym up agayne. For yf
the oppnyons had eny where con-
tinually endured / there wold the chyr-
che be now quite gone many yerys a-
go. And thus maye ye well se / þe there
can no luche folke be the chyrche / that
in so many yerys haue no chyrche nor
come to none / but to the yis in whyche
they say theym selfe that they woold
proue. ¶ Well quod he peradventure
they wold not speke myche to asygne
you a place and shewe you a company
and congregacyon / whyche they wold
say is þe chyrch. for what yf they
wold shewe you Boheme & now in Sa-
cony where Luther is / and peradven-
ture in a good pte of Germany. ¶ Ma-
y quod I yf they say so / than lepe they
shold a shunder out of the syenge pan-
is to þe pte. For in Saxony pte and
among all the lutherans there be as
many heretiques as many wyrtys. And al-
as many as wyld be good. And as lute-
rany beganne / yet be there not one-
ly as many sects almost as men.

but also þe maysters them selfe chaun-
ge theym myndes and the oppnyons
enery day / & mote nere where to holde
theym. Boheme ys also in the same
case. One sayth in the town / a nother
in the felde. One in prage / a nother
in the next towne. And yet in prage ye
selfe one sayth in one strete / a nother
in the next. So that yf ye asygne ye in
Boheme / ye must tell in what towne.
And yf ye name a towne / yet must ye
tell in what strete. And yet al they kno-
welege that they can not haue the sa-
cramēts mynystrid / but by luche pre-
stys as be made by authoptye derpyed
& couayed from þe pope which is vnder
Crist byrate & the hed of our chyrch.

¶ The ii. chapyter.

¶ The autho. sheweth þe no secte of
luche as the chyrch taketh for here-
tyques / as be þe chyrch / for as myche
as the chyrch was before all the / as
þe tree from whych all those whythe
red braunches be fallen.

¶ That none of all these can be þe
chyrch / shall well apere also by
a nother meane. whyther wold ye say
the very chyrche and congregacyon of
Crist was before all the chyrches
& congregacyons of heretiques or some
chyrche of heretiques before þe chyrche
of Crist. ¶ Mary q he there myght be
in chyrch of heretiques before þe chyrch
of Crist. For there might be som amōg
þe Iewes before þe birth of Crist. And
lute I suppose were þe Saducees þe dy-
luted not the resercept nor thynnyng
salpe of the soule. ¶ If we shold be-
quod I to that reserpyng / we myght
se the chyrch of Crist farre abow-
and began ye at Adam. For fustine the
lyst good man to the last / all that in
conclusyon

conclusyon be hys chyrch triumphant
in heuyn. But I speke of Crystyng chyr-
che now/as of that congregacyon that
berynge hys name/ and hanynge hys
ryght fowth/ and byng begonne to be
gathered by hymselfe and spede abro-
de by his apostles/ hath and dooth and
shall tyll hys comynge to the byedefull
dome/ coneyue styll in this worlde/
whether was this chyrche byfore all
the chyrches and congregacyons of he-
tereyques/ or some one of theyn byfore
yt. I say q he I thynke yt was befo-
re theyn all. And herby may we quod
I be sure of that. And wherby may we quod
alwayes the hetereyques came out of yt
That is quod I trow. for they coul-
de be none hetereyques but by beyng
fyrste therin/ and after comynge oute.
And yt appereth by the gospel/ in wher
the good husbonde man went forth
to sowe hys seed/ and whan he had so-
wed good seed than þe enemy sowd his
evyll after/ and they grew up together.
It appereth also by the wordes of the
apostle a holy euangelyst saynt Joha/
wher he sayd of hetereyques. E nobis
perfecti sunt/ sed nō crāt ex nobis. They
be gone he sayd out of us/ but they we-
re none of us/ meanynge that or eue
they professed theym selfe opely for he-
tereyques/ yet beyng such in dede/ lyth
the chyrche of Cryst is a people of one
faythe/ these folke þ have another spe-
ciall fayth by theym selfe barpene/ and
gaynsayng the tocher/ be not perfyte
of þ chyrch though they be for the whyle
in yt. So yt is now þe nyntieth member
of that body tyll yt be cut of for fowth
of corrupcyon of þ remenaunt/ hangeth
on it in a maner/ and some lytell lighte
or lyfe hath by the spyryte of god that
upholdeth þ body of his chyrch/ byng

euer in case to take occasyon of amen-
dement by some wayne of that hollosom
moysture of goddys grace/ and specially
spredeth about þ holy body. But those
that by the professyon of heresyss in-
fydelyte/ fall off from that body/ or for
fear of corrupcyng the remenaunt be
by curle cast out of þ body/ they playn-
ly dyve up and wyther away. Our sa-
vour saith hym selfe/ I am sayth he a
bery hyne/ and my father is a gardy-
ner. I am the hyne and ye be the brach-
ches. And every brache that bereth
me no fruite/ my father taketh yt away.
And every brache that bereth fruite/
he purgeth yt to make yt byng þ mo-
re fruite. And as the brache can do
no good beyng taken frome the tree/
tyght so can ye do no good nor serue for
nought but for the fyre/ except ye aby-
de in me. By these wordes of our sa-
vour and many moo there spoken at
length/ though yt appereth that who
so kepe the fayth/ yet except he worke
well theris god wyll plucke hym out/
and who so by faythe abydyng in the
stocke/ dothe worke good werks/ the
more he doth the more grace and helpe
shall haue of god to growe the better
and to do þ more/ yet appereth yt also/
that all the good werks that may be
done/ wyll not serue yt we be out of þ
stocke. And out of the stocke of the hy-
ne be all þ be not grassed in by faythe/
or fallen of by open professyon of here-
sy/ or cut of and cast out for infydeli-
te. For faythe is the gate in to goddys
chyrch/ as myshpleue is the gate in to
þ dnyis chyrch. For as þ apostle sayth
Accedente in ad beatū opōrtet credere/
A man cannot come to god withoute
fayth. And therfore who so professeth
a false byleue/ let hym be sure that he
is

The seconde booke.

is gone out of the gate of goddys chyrche before actual excomunicacyon / & fall of the body of þe byneparde. And yf they be secrete / neyther professynge theyr heresyen nor actually beyng accursed and cast out / they be in the chyrche but not perfectly of yt. But in such tople i manner therof be they / as a ded hande is rather a burden in the bodye / than betwylly any membre organe or instrument therof. And therfore sayth saint John as I sayd before / that the heresyques be gone out of vs / but they were not of vs. For yf they had ben of vs they wolde haue tarped with vs. Wherbyng the by not as some wolde haue yt seme / þa good man is not of þe chyrche nor in goddys fauour whyle he is good / bycause he happeneth to wax worse afterwarde. But he meaneth that in þe they wente theyre waye from vs / they shewed that they were nought in dede whyle they were wth vs. And so though they were wth vs / yet were they not of vs. For though heresyques & infidels be among faythfull and well beleynge people / yet be they perde none of the. And so it appereth as ye sayd before / that the chyrche of Cryst is before all the chyrches of heresyques / and that all congregacions of heresyques haue comen out of the chyrche of Cryst. That is very true quod he. Well quod I yf that be true as ye is in dede / tha can no secte in Boheme be þe cyghe chyrche. For the chyrche whych we call the chyrche that beleueth as we beleue / was there before all the bym. And neuer a chyrche had any chyrche of heresyques yet / but ye was buylded by our chyrche to theyre handys / so that ye is eydent that none of all the bym can be Crystys chyrche / but Crystys chyrche must be.

bye be that chyrche þe was before them all / and oute of whych all they haue sprongen / and synners suerid the bym selfe / whych is the chyrche þe all they deny not / to beleue agaynst them / the poynys whych we beleue and they reprove.

The.iii. chapyter.

The messenger moueth that þe by chyrche peraduecture is not the people þe we take for it / but a secrete by knowe soite of such onely / as be by god predestynate to be saued. wher vnto the author answereth and declareth that ye can not be so.

Peraduecture qd he there myght be sayd / that it nedeth not to aspygne any place where the very chyrche and true crysten congregacion is. But sythe every place is indifferente there vnto / ye may be that all the good men and chosen people of god that be predestynate to be saued / in what pte so euer they be / and how so euer they be scattered / here one and there one / here two & there two / that thes be the very chyrche of Cryst. And be in this world vnknewen as yet whyle the chyrche doth but wander in þe pylgrymage of this short lyfe. Wherof I thys gere groweth fro worse to worse. And in very dede yet is thys poynnt theyre shote ake. For fyrst they se playnly that they must nedys graunte / that the very chyrche can neyther be deceyued in the cyght sayth nor mystake holy scripture or mynderstande ye / to the introduction of infidelyte & false beleue. And this growde fynde all the heresyques them self so sure & fast / that they perceyue well excepte they wolde openly and utterly deny Cryst altogether / ye can not be vndermyned. And syth they manifestly

is that/ and as evidently se therewith
 that the chyrche whiche is y very chyr-
 che in dede/ dāpneth all theyr wayes/
 wherof syth the chyrch can not erre in
 dyscernynge the trowth/ yt must nedys
 folowe that they mystake theym selfe
 all the hole mater/ & be quyte in a wro-
 ge way/ therfore be they dreynd to de-
 ny for y chyrch the people that be kno-
 wen for the chyrche. And go seke a no-
 ther they neyther knowe what noz
 where/ bylde by in the ayre a chyrche
 all so spyrituall that they leue therein
 at length neyther god noz good man.
 And fyrst where they say that there be
 none therein but they that be predesty-
 nate to be saued/ yf the questyon were
 of the chyrch tryumphaut in heuyn/
 than sayd they well. But we speke of y
 chyrch of Cryst myllytānt here in erth.
 And therfore goth they frame as far
 wyde fro y place they sholde set yt on/
 as heui & erth stāde a sonder. For fyrst
 wolde I wyte yf the chyrche be none
 but those that be predestynate/ why-
 ther all that ben predestynate be mem-
 bres therof. ¶ Why not q he. ¶ Chan
 quod I he that is predestynate to be sa-
 ued/ whyther may he oz not be dyuers
 tymes a synner in hys dayes. ¶ What
 yf he may q he. ¶ May he not quod I
 be also dyuers tymes in hys days in a
 wronge byleue and a false heresy/ and
 after tourne/ repent/ and amende/ &
 so be saued at laste as god hath prede-
 stynate hym to be. ¶ What thā q he.
 ¶ Wherquod I for than shall yt folo-
 we that he shal be a member of the ve-
 ry chyrche and so shyl cōtinue & neuer
 can be cast out beyng a stakke herety-
 que. ¶ Yet quod he is he all that whyle
 a quicke mēbre of the chyrche/ by rea-
 son of goddys predestynacyon/ syth

though he be not sure/ yet yt is in dede
 sure that he is and euer shall be one of
 the very chyrche. ¶ It is quod I sure
 in dede & wel knowe/ that he so shall
 be. But as sure is yt that for the why-
 le he is not except/ that all thyng that
 euer shall be is all redy present in dede
 as yt is present to goddys knowlege.
 and thē were said Ioule as good why-
 le he was a psecutour as whan he was
 apostle. And as verily a membre of
 Crystys chyrche oz he was bozne/ as
 he is now in heui. ¶ Well q he though
 that peradventure all those that be ly-
 uynge and predestynate to be saued be
 not in yt/ yet may yt be y ther be none
 other in yt than predestynates. ¶ But
 yt may be quod I that as men be chaū-
 geable/ he that is predestynate may be
 many tymes in hys lyfe nought. And
 he that wyll at laste fall to synne and
 wretchednes and so fynally caste hym
 selfe away/ shall in some tyme of hys
 lyfe be good/ and therfore for the tyme
 in goddys fauoure. For godd blameth
 noz hateth no man for y he shal wyll/
 but for that malycyous wyll that he
 hath oz hath had al redy. And th^s shal
 therby thys reason be good men oute
 of Crystys chyrche and nowghty men
 therein/ saythful men out of yt and he
 retyques in yt/ and both y tone and y
 tother wythout reason oz good cause
 why.

The. iiii. chapytre.

¶ The messenger moueth y though
 the chyrch be not y nombze of folke
 only predestynate to blyss/ yet may
 yt peradventure be y nombze of good
 and well byleuynge folke here and
 there vnknewen/ whych may be per-
 adventure those whome we conde-
 pne for heretyques for holdyng oppo-
 nyon

The seconde boke.

hyon agaynst ymagys. wherof the
author proueth the contrary.

¶ All quod he yet mape yt be / y
the very chyrche of Cryst / is all
such as bileue a right & lue wel
whers so euer they be / though y world
knowe theym not / and though fewe of
theym knowe eche other. For god as
saynt Doule sayth / knowe who be his.
And Cryst sayth / y agaynst his chyrch
y gatys of hell shall not preuayll / but
the gates of hell do preuayll agaynst
siners. And therfore yt appereth well
that there can be no synners in hys
chyrch / nor that there be none of hys
chyrch but good folke. And vnto them
our lord is presente and kepeth theym
fro errours / and gyueth theym ryght
vnderstadyng of hys holy scrpytures.
And where they be forcerh not / how
fewe they be to gether maketh no ma-
ter. For our saupour sayth / wher soeuer
be two or thye gathered to gether i my
name / there am I also among theym.
And so is hys very chyrch here & there
of onely good men to the world vnkno-
we / and to hym selfe well knowe. And
though they be fewe in comparyson /
yet make they about in all the world
a good meyn amonge theym. As god
sayd whan y chyldren of Israell were
fallen to ydolatre and woyshepped y
ydoll Baall so ferforth that yt semed
all were in the case / and me knewe not
who whers otherwyle / yet sayde our
lord as appereth in the. xix. chapyter
the thyrdd boke of y knyghtys / I shall re-
serue for my selfe. vii. ¶ y haue not
bended theyr kne before Baall. So y
wher y synagoge and chyrch was tha /
yt was vnknowen to man but yt was
well knowen to god. And they were
not hys chyrch that semed to be / but a

company bngathered that no mā was
ware of / nor wolde haue went. And so
may yt be peraduenture now / that the
very chyrche of Cryst is not nor many
dayes hath not ben the people that se-
meth to be the chyrche / but some good
me scatered here & there vnknowe / tyll
god gather theym to gether and make
theym knowe / and happely those that
byleue agaynst ymagys a whome we
now call heretyques. ¶ Chys is y
a reaso that Luther maketh hym self.
By whiche he wolde bypunge the very
chyrch of Cryst out of knowlege / and
wold put yt in dowt whyther y saint
that the chyrch honoureth / were good
men or not. And wolde that yt myght
seme peraduenture nay / but that they
were happely not good. Put the good
men and sayntys in dede / were some
other whom the world for theyr ope-
lewde luyng reputed for nought. But
wher he sayth that the chyrch of syna-
goge of the right byleue was than vnk-
known / that is not trew. For yt was
well known in Hierusalem and Ju-
dea / though yt had ben vnknowe who
were saythfull in Samaria. And the
scrpyture also sayth not that these. vii.
¶ y whom he wolde leue yet in Israell
that had not bowed theyr knees befor
Baall / were secrete and vnknowen /
but he sayth onely that such a number
of suche folke he wolde leue. But now
for our purpose sythe ye wyll haue the
very chyrche a secrete vnknowen not
company and congregacyō / but a dy-
spersed nobye of onely good me / wyll
you that those good men whych after
your rekenyng make the very chyrch /
shall haue the same sayth & none other
than we haue / whych be now reputed
for the chyrch / or ellys a sayth and by
lref

theyf dyfferent. ¶ What yf they haue y
 same q he. ¶ Mary quod I than wyll
 pour newe byelded chyrch no thyng
 helpe your purpols. But they shall as
 faste confetme the woꝛshyp of ymag/
 prayng to sayntys/and sekynge to ppl
 geymagys as we. And as depely con-
 dempne for heresy your oppnyon to the
 cōtrarye. ¶ That is very trowth q he.
 But yf may be that of that very chyrch
 y fayth & bylyef shall be/ that all thys
 gere is erronpous and as playne ydo-
 larry as was y woꝛshyppynge of Baal.
 ¶ Yf that were so q I than had Cryst
 not kept hym. bit. ¶ Yf from y woꝛshyp
 of Baall in all the regyons that bere
 the name of crystendome/ except these
 new folk of Sarony & Bohem whych
 your self graunte to be the heretyques
 as sectys comen out of the chyrch. And
 moze than twondre were yf yf all the
 chyrch of Cryst sholde be clene among
 infydelys and heretyques and no part
 at all therof among the grete bychaū-
 geable crysten countrees/ whyche haue
 kept theyr fayth in one cōstant fashyō
 derpyed fro the begynnyng. For thys
 am I sure/ that in all those regyōs as
 I say/ yf eny haue eny suche oppnyon
 agaynst ymagys and sayntys/ yet com-
 meth he to y chyrch amōge hys neygh-
 bours/and there boweth hys knees to
 Baall yf the ymagys be Baall as hys
 neyghbours do. But go to let vs forth
 on a lytell ferther. And supposyng that
 there were som such secrete good folke
 as ye speke of that had y ryght bylese
 and were the ryght chyrch/ & that they
 were so dysperfed a sondre y they were
 to the world vnknewen/ hath not god
 set an ordre in hys chyrche that some
 shall preche to the tēnēnaut for exor-
 tacyon of good lyuynge and informa-

cyon whereyn good lyuynge stādeth/
 as in fayth and good woꝛkys. ¶ Yes
 quod he. ¶ Had not Cryst quod I sacra-
 mētes also to be mynistrēd i hys chyrch
 by the pꝛeestys of y same. ¶ Yes quod
 he. ¶ Now quod I yf some infydelys
 as Turkyss or Sarysens haupng herd
 of Crystys name/ dyd long to knowe
 hys scrpyture and his fayth/ and herig
 that there were many people that pꝛo-
 fessed theym selfe for crysten mē/ hole
 nacyōs/ but they were al opē ydolatres
 and in a mysbylese/ and clerely decep-
 ued and begyled/ and that specyally by
 y clergye y techeth theym/ how be yf
 there were yet a fewe good folke and
 ryght byleupnge whyche were not de-
 ceuyed/ whych among theym be the ve-
 ry trewe chyrche/ but who they be/ or
 where they be/ or how to aske for the/
 or yf he happen on theym/ yet where
 by to know theym that can no mā tell
 hym/ how sholde these infydelys come
 to the faythe/ and of whom shold they
 here yf. For they being warned before
 y there were many sectys of herety-
 ques and but one trewe chyrch/ wolde
 neuer be so madde to lerne of theym y
 they myght wene were wꝛong. And
 how shold they now come to the ryght
 whan the trewe chyrch is vnknewen.
 ¶ They myght q he take y scrpyture.
 ¶ They shold quod I be therin lyke to
 Enuchus that coulde not vnderstande
 without a reder. And thā yf they toke
 a wꝛonge reder of a wꝛong chyrch/ all
 were matted. And also they wold not
 trust the scrpytures nor tekē that they
 had the ryght bokys of scrpyture amōg
 false sectys/ but wolde loke to receyue
 y trewe scrpyture of y ryght and trewe
 chyrch. And thus here yf appereth yf it
 were thus/ god had lefte none ordyna-

The seconde boke.

ry way for hys gospel and sayth to be taught. But let go these infidels and speke of our self which are (yf this way were trew) as false as they. where be thā prechers of thys very chyrche that sholde preche and teche vs better. For yt is no chyrch yf yt haue no prechours. ¶ It hath quod he som that preche som tyme/ but ye wyl not suffre them. ye punyshe them and burne the. ¶ Nay quod I they be wyllet thā so they wyl not be burned for vs/ for they wyl rather swere on a boke y they neuer sayd so/ or ellys that they wyl no more say so. And in thys appereth that there is no suche secrete vnknewen chyrche of Cryst/ that haupng such oppnyons is y very chyrche. For y very chyrch hath euer had some that hath abyde by theyr sayth and theyr prechyng/ and wold neuer go backe wth goddys worde to dye therfoze. And thys chyrch that we be of/ that take your chyrch for heretiques haue had many suche martyris therein/ y beleued as we do agaynst your oppnyons/ as appereth by the hy- stories and by many of theyr boke/ where as of your secrete chyrche I neuer yet foude or herde of eny one in all my lyfe/ but he wolde forswere your saythe to saue hys lyfe. where be also your preestys and your byshops. For such must they haue yf they be the chyrch of Cryst. Now such can your chyrch haue none/ ye beech to other vnknewe And though some of suche chyrches haue a false oppnyō that euery mā is a preest/ and euery woman to/ yet thys heresye false as it is wyl not serue this vnknewen chyrch. For y holders of that oppnyon do put/ that no man may for all that take vpon hym to preche or medle as preest/ tyl he be cholen by the con-

gregacyon. And where can that be sit thys ymagynary chyrch/ of whych no mā knoweth other. And where as our lord sayth/ where soeuer be two or thre gathered to gether in my name there am I wth them/ he spake not as though euery two or thre what so euer they were sholde make hys chyrch/ but that where so euer there came to gether two or thre in hys name that be of his chyrch there is he wth them. And so doth the one terte of the scripture in y gospel playnly declare/ as yt is well let out and opened by the holy doctour and glorious martyr saynt Cyprian/ in his epistle agayst Nouacyā. ¶ Whā our saynt sayth also that he whiche wolde not amende by hys sawte shewen hym befoze two or thre wytnes/ sholde be complayned vpon vnto the chyrch/ dyd he meane a secrete chyrche/ whiche no man wylt where to fynde. ¶ Now whā the apostle wyrteth vnto the Corynthiens/ that rather thā they sholde please and stryue in the lawe befoze the infidels/ they shold set such as were in the chyrche lytell set by/ to be iudges in theyr temporall suyt/ of what chyrch dyd he speke/ of such one as no mā wylt where to seke yt. ¶ This vnknewen chyrch whych they be dreuen to seke that be lothe to knowe the chyrch/ wylt neuer serue. But y chyrch of Cryst is a chyrche well knowe. And hys pleasure was to haue yt knowen and not hyd. And yt is bydyd vpon so hygh an hyll of y holy Gōne/ I meane vpon Cryst him self/ that yt can not be hyd. ¶ Non potest abscondi ciuitas supra supra montē posita/ ¶ The cyte can not be hyd that is sette on an hyll. And he wolde haue hys saythe dyuulged and spredde abrode openly/ not alwaye whyspered

predicator.

whispered i tinkerer. And therfore
 he bound hys preachours to stād therby &
 not to reuoke his word for no pain. For
 he sayd y he dyd not lyght y candel to
 put yt & hyde yt vnder a bushel / for so
 wold no mā do / but he had kideid a fire
 which he wold not shold lye & smolder
 as coles doth in queche / but he wold yt
 shold burne & gyue lyght. And therfore
 foly were it to say y Crist which wold
 haue his churche spred thowow y world /
 & euery whete gathered i cōpany / wold
 haue yt turned to a secret vnknewē sin-
 gle soyt leuered a soder & scatered about
 i coznets vnknewē to all y world & to
 the self to. Now where they say y there
 is none of y churche but only those y be
 good folk / this wold make y churche cle-
 rely vnknewē were the peple neuer so
 many & y place neuer so large. For who
 cā know of y multitude who be good i
 dede & who be nought / syth y bad may
 sodainly be meded vntwate to y world /
 & y good as sodainly warē woys. Now
 lay they for y pfe of y oppynio / y word
 of Crist / which luther allegeth also for
 y same fēt i his boke y he made agāst
 Ambrosius Catherina / y is to wyte the
 word wherin our lord sayd vnto saint
 Peter / y agāst his churche gates of hel
 shold not swayle / by whych word Lu-
 ther doth (as he thiketh & sayth hi self)
 meruelous gayly pue / y there cā be no
 mā of y churche but he y lieth not. For
 this argumēt he makech. Crist sayth y
 y gates of hell shal not swayle agāst y
 churche / but y gates of hel is nothig but
 y deuyl / & he swayleth agāst all folk y
 line / ergo no folk y line be y churche. and
 by this worthypfull argument it is a
 world to se what bolte y mad mā ma-
 keth / y he hath clerly pried y churche is
 not these peple who we take for y chir-
 che / by cause they be siners. which argu-
 bath so many folpes & fault ther / & so

much leuenyēce & absurdyte folowig
 ther vppō / y it is more thā meruayl y a
 child of one weke study i sophistry coud
 for shame fynd i his hart to bzige it in
 place for eny earnest argumēt. For fyrst
 yf mē deny hym y y gates of hell do m
 y place sygnify y deuyl then he cā ne-
 uer pue it / & thā is al his reaso wpped
 qupte away. Now do there in dede dy-
 uers olde zinetors & doctozs of y churche
 take i y place for y gat of hel / y grete
 tyaūt & heretiques / by whose peca-
 cions & heresyes as yt were by two ga-
 tys / many a man hath gone in to hell.
 And our saupour pynseth i y place / y
 neyther of those two gat / y is to wyte
 neyther paynyn tyaūt nor crystened
 heretique / shold swayle agāst y churche.
 For though they haue dystroyed & shal
 dystroy many of y churche / yet shal they
 not be able to dystroy y churche / but the
 churche shal stād & be by god pserued i de-
 spit of all theyz teth. And th^e ye se how
 lone Luthers special argumēt were o-
 uerthrowē w trowth. But yf a mā wol-
 de graūt hi y y gates of hel dyd here sy-
 gnify y deuyl / yet shold we not nede to
 graūt hi y y deuyl as he is called of god
 by y name of y gat (which is not done
 for nought) doth swayle agāst euery
 mā y lieth. For he y synneth & ryleth
 agayn out of line & so cometh w in y ga-
 tes / as yet y gat cā not hold hym but
 y he breketh out of y gates / y gates do
 not swayle agāst hym / but he swayleth
 agāst y gates. And thus is Luthers
 wyle argumēt whych he groudech vppō
 y text auoyded agayn. It appereth also
 y yt is a very scantyque argumēt. For
 where he sayth that agaynst y churche
 of Crist y gates of hell pswayle not /
 but they pswayle agaynst our churche /
 that is to wyte all the crysten people
 whom we call y churche vnder obedyēce
 of y pope / ergo they be not y churche.

The seconde boke.

this argumēt printh þ there is i erth no
chryſt at all. For what chryſt he can he
ſynde oꝝ ymagyn in erth that doth not
ſynne / & ſpecially yf þ were true þ him
ſelfe ſayth amōge hys other heresyꝝ /
where he holdeth ſtyll y all the good
woꝝk of good mē be ſines / & y mē ſine
i þ they do good. And th⁹ he wold both
haue þ chryſt to be only a ſecret vnkno
we ſort of folk þ do not ſynne / & yet he
cofeſſeth þ there be none ſuch. And ſo as
he gooth about to take away the very
chryſt y is well knowē / makynge as
though he wold ſynde out a better / he
leueth i cōcluſyō no chryſt at all. And
to ſuch a fōde & falſe ende muſt they ne
d⁹ bzīg yt al / y wyl make yt a nōber of
only ſuch as be good mē do not ſynne.
For yf he ſhould be in yt alway whā he
is out of ſynne / & out of yt whā he is in
ſynne / thā ſhould a mā paducture be in
yt i þ moꝝnige & out of yt at none / & in
agayn at nyght. So þ who were i yt /
oꝝ whā / oꝝ where yt were / who coulde
tell. And of þ vncertapnty muſt nedys
grow al ſuch i cōuenyēces & cōtradictiō
unto ſcripture / as is befoꝝe reherſed.
The chryſt therfoꝝe muſt ned⁹ be þ co
mē knowē multitude of cryſt mē good
& bad to gether whyle þ chryſt is here
in erth. For this netre of Cryſt hath foꝝ
þ whyle good ſpythes & bad. And chys
felde of Cryſt bereth foꝝ þ whyle good
coꝝne & cocle / tyl yt ſhall at þ day of do
me be put yfped / & al þ bad caſt out / & y
only good remain. And therfoꝝe whā
þ apoſtle wꝛote vnto þ Coꝝynthyens of
hym þ had lye to his mother i law / he
cōmaūded þ he ſhould be ſeperate out of
þ chryſt. whych he neuer was after þ
debe done / tyl þ excomūnycatiō denū
ced / but was ſtyl foꝝ all hys ſynne one
of þ chryſt / though he was thought &

out of godd⁹ fauour. Cryſt him ſelf ſaid
to hys apoſtles / now be you clene but
not all / & yet were they al of his chryſt
Albe yf þ one of thē was as our ſauyōꝝ
ſayd hym ſelf / a deuyll. Wd þ I not ſayd
he chele twelf of you / & one of you is a
deuyll. And yf there were none of the
chirch but good mē as lōg as they were
good / thā had ſait Peter bē on⁹ no pte
of þ chryſt after þ Cryſt had appoynted
hym foꝝ chꝛef. ¶ But our lord in thys
hys myſtycall body of hys chryſt / ca
rꝛyeth hys mēbꝛes / ſom ſeke / ſom hole /
& all ſekely. For they be not foꝝ euery
ſynne clene caſt of from þ body / but yf
they be foꝝ fere of ifectiō out of / oꝝ ell⁹
wyllygly do departe & ſeperate thē ſelf
as do theſe heretiques / y epyther reſuſe
þ chryſt wylfully thē ſelf / oꝝ elys foꝝ
their obſtinacy be put out. For tyl their
Stuburne hart⁹ do ſhew thē icurable / þ
body bereth thē yet about ſyke & nough
ty & cap cold as they be / to pꝛue whither
þ warmneſſe of grace goyng thꝛowme
thys hole myſtycall body of Cryſt ys
chryſt myght get yet & kepe ſū lyfe in
thē. But whā þ tyme ſhall come þ thys
chryſt ſhal hole chaūg her place & haue
heui foꝝ her dwellig i ſtede of erth / af
ter þ ſynall iudgemēt pꝛouced & gꝛuē
whā god ſhal to his ſpoule this chryſt
of Cryſt etre i to þ pleaſūꝝ weddig chā
ber to þ bed of eternal reſt / thā ſhall al
theſe ſcald & ſcabed peris ſcale clene of /
& þ hole body of Cryſt / body chryſt re
main pure / clene & gloꝝyō⁹ / about wō
me / wꝛynnele oꝝ ſpot / whych is a foꝝ þ
whyle I wene wyl be as lōg as ſhe is
here as ſcabed as euer was Job / & yet
her loupynge ſpoule leueth her not but
continually goeth aboute by many
maner medecynes / ſome bytter ſome
ſweete / ſome only ſamꝝꝛuous / ſom ple

saunt/some paynfull/to cure her.

The. v. chapyter.

The author sheweth & cōcludeth that thys comen knowē multytude of crystē nacyōs not cut of nor fallē of by heresyēs/be the very chyrch of Cryst good men and bad together.

Ad fynally to put out of que-
stion which is Crystē very chyrch
yth yt is agreed bytwene vs & graū-
ted thorow crystendom/ & a conclusyō
very trew/ & by the chyrch we know &
scripture/ whych chyrch is & by whych
we knowe the scripture. It is not this
cōpany and congregacyon/ of all these
nacyōs/ that wythout factions taken
& p̄ceptyon from the remenaunt/ p̄o-
fesse & name & fayth of Cryst. By thys
chyrch knowe we the scripture/ & thys
is the very chyrch/ and thys hath begō
at Cryst & hath had hym for theyr heed
and saynt Peter hys bycat after hym
and heed vnder hym/ & alway synnys
the successours of hym continually/ &
haue had hys holy fayth and hys blyss-
ed sacramētys & hys holy scriptures
deliuered/ kept and cōserued therein by
god and hys holy spyrite. And all be
yt som nacyōs fal away/ yet lyke wyse
as how many bowys so euer fall from
p̄ tre/ though they fall more than be
left theron/ yet they make no dowte
whych is p̄ very tre/ all though eche of
theym were plāted agayne in a nother
place & grew to a gretter thā p̄ stock he
camz fyrst of/ ryght so whyle we le &
wel know/ & all p̄ cōpanyes & sectys of
heretyques & scylmatyques how grete
soeuer they grow cam out of this chyrch
p̄ I spak of/ we knowe euetmoze & p̄ he
retiques be they p̄ be seuered/ & p̄ chyrch
p̄ stocke that all they came out of. And
yth that onely the chyrch of Cryst is p̄

byne that Cryst spake of in p̄ gospell/ &
whych he taketh for hys body mysty-
call/ and that euery bzaunche scuered
fro p̄ tre leseth hys lyuely noutyng/ &
we must nedys well knowe & all these
bzaunches of heretyques fallen frome
the chyrch the byne of Crystys mysty-
call body/ seme they neuer so freshe &
grene/ be yet in dede but wytherlyng
that wyther and shall dry vp/ able to
serue for nothyng but for the fyre.

The. vi. chapyter.

The messenger moreth/ & yth the
chyche is this knowē multytude of
good men & badde to gether/ of whō
no man knoweth whych be the tone
lozt & whych be the tother/ & yt may
be peraduenture & the good lozt of
the chyrch be they that bylene p̄ wor-
shipp of ymages to be ydolatry/ and
the bad lozt they p̄ bylene p̄ cōtrary.
whych obiccyon the authoz dooth
answere and confute.

Han I had sayd. **S**yz q he
we re haue in good fayth fully sa-
tyfied me cōcernyng p̄ sure &
vndowted knowlege of p̄ very chyrch
here i erth. But yet thynketh me & one
lytell dowt remayneth for our p̄yncy-
pall mater. **W**hat is p̄ q I. **M**ary
syz q he yt is thys/ & though the very
fayth be in the chyrch/ & the chyrch can
not erre therein/ nor p̄ chyrch cā not be
deceyued agaynst p̄ fayth in eny texte
of scripture/ nor no scripture is there p̄
beyng well vnderstāden doth oz cā do
stande agaynst p̄ fayth of p̄ chyrch/ & p̄
also the chyrch is none other but as ye
say and as I se yt is in dede/ but thys
hole comen congregacyō of crysten peo-
ple good and badde/ not seperatyng
theym self fro frowardnes/ nor beyng
put out for theyr obstynate sawt/ yet
yth

The seconde booke.

Ipeh yt appereth well that though the
 ryght sayth be in y chrych/ yt is not in
 every man of the chrych. And though
 y chryche can not erre in such thyng/
 yet som of y chrych may. Now semeth
 yt to some men that yt may well per-
 adventure happen/ that the good men
 well beleuyng & undeceyved/ be those
 that beleue the woꝛshyp of ymages &
 prayng to sayntes to be ydolatry. And
 on y tother syde/ that those whiche by
 leue y cōtrary be that parte of y chrych
 that be the naughty mē/ mysbreueris
 & foule deceyved. ¶ That were a very
 straung werke quod I. we wold ryght
 now quod I/ that in y chrych we shold
 shynk that there were none other but
 good mē. Wyl ye now agre that there
 be therin som good men. ¶ We quod he
 that must ned be. ¶ Well quod I why
 shet be they good men that do nought.
 ¶ Nay quod he. ¶ Do they well q I
 that do ydolatry in dede though yt be
 agaynst theyz hartes. ¶ Nay quod he.
 ¶ But all quod I come to chrych and
 woꝛshyp ymagys/ & all pray to saynt.
 Wherfore yf that be ydolatry/ than y
 chrych of Cryst is all nought. For thus
 do they that be of y contrary syde/ for
 fere of beynge perceyved. Also yf one
 do well oꝝ pꝛeche well is he a good mā
 yf he deny yt for fere. ¶ Nay quod he.
 ¶ But now q I all y are of that soꝛte
 yf they happen to adventure sōwhat &
 be spyed/ they wyl fyrst piure thē self/
 and after abiure theyz oppnyon so y yf
 theyz oppnyō were good/ yet were thē
 selfe nought. ¶ But yet q he yf theyz
 oppnyons be good/ than be not they so
 euyl in hydig theyz entētyz for fere/ as
 they that agaynst theyz tꝛew oppnyōs
 do and pꝛeche openly and pursue theym
 for sayng tꝛouth. As som that saynted

and fled from martyꝛdome/ were not so
 euyl as they that pursued them. ¶ The
 tꝛouth quod I yf these mennys opp-
 nyōs were tꝛew. But yet though they
 were tꝛew/ yet were these mē nought.
 ¶ And y tother woꝛle quod he. ¶ That
 is well sayd quod I. But they and the
 tother be y hole chryche. And yf yours
 be nought as ye graunt and must ned
 graūt they be/ yf y tother were nought
 to/ thā were in the chryche none good.
 But your self deny not but in y chrych
 yt must ned be/ y there be some good.
 And there can be none but eyther your
 parte oꝝ y tother. Ergo yf the yours be
 nought those y be good must ned be y
 tother. But none of those y be of y to
 ther could be good mē yf they were ydo-
 laters & plued your parte for saynge y
 tꝛouth/ & cōpelled thē to deny y tꝛouth/
 ergo y tother pte be not ydolaters/ noꝝ
 y oppnyō of your pte for whiche they
 plue your pte be not tꝛew. And thus it
 appereth as me seme/ that good mē of
 y chrych be agaynst you/ & the nough-
 ty wyth you.

The. vii. chapyter.

¶ I author sōwhat doth corrobore
 y tꝛeuth agayst y heresyes holdynge
 agaynst ymagē/ & recapytelyng som
 what bꝛefly what hath bē pꝛued/ so
 symmethe & edeth y pte for his pte.
Ad yet speke I nothyng of all
 y good mē/ and well knowe for
 good mē/ & holy mē/ & now saīnt in he-
 uen/ y haue cōdemned your parte and
 wyrtten agaynst you. And your parte
 therfore be so sore agaynst saīt agayn/
 bycause they se theyz heresyes spūned
 & cōdemned by theyz holy wyrttyg.
 For be yd thys haue I nothyng spokē
 of y general cōsailys cōdēpnig your
 pte by good & substantiū all authoryte/
 cōꝛobate

reprobate and corroborate by the hole body of crystendom led there vnto both longe before and euer synnys / thow the secrete operacyon of the holy goost / who could neuer suffer (as your self agreeth) þe chyrch of Cryst to contynue so hole & so longe in so damnable ydolatre as this were yf yt were superstycon and not a parte of very faythe and trew deuout relygion. Wherfore syth I haue proued you that the chyrch can not erre in so grete a poynte / nor agaynst the ryght faythe mytake the sentence of holy scripture / and also þe these people that beleue ymages to be worshypped be þe very chyrch of Cryst / and that of hys chyrche the good and badde both dooth vlye yt / and the good mē doth yt trewly / and the bad falsly / and that all the good men of olde hath allowed and vlyd thys waye and condemned the cōtrary / wherch hath also ben declared for false heresy by hole þe generall cōsayle of crystendom / approued by the fayth and custome of all the people helpe growig in to such cōsent by goddis holy spyryte that gouerneth hys chyrch / I neuer nede to go farther or touch your textys or argumentys to the cōtrary. For thys syde thus proued good / yt must nedys folowe that the tother syde is nought / excepte ye haue agaynst thys eny farther thyng to say. Wherch yf ye haue neuer let to bring it forth. For I wyll for none haste leue eny corner of the mater vntanlaked / as far as we can eny dowt fynde there in. ¶ In good fayth syz quod he I am in thys mater euen at the harde wall / and se not how to go farther. ¶ Now I assure you yf I coulde my selfe fynde eny farther obiectyō / I wold not sayle to bring yt in. But in good fayth

I suppose we be waded in thys mater as ferre as we cā bothe fynde. And I am sure as ferre as euer Luther soude or eny þe euer I haue sene þe eny thyng haue sayd or wyrtten on that syde.

The viii. chapyter.

The authoz entreteth the answer to þe obiectyōns that had ben before layde by the messenger / agaynst the worshyp of ymagys / and prayng to sayntys / and goynge on pylgrymagys. And fyrst he answereth in this chapytre thobiectyōs made agaynst praynge to sayntys.

Now therfore as I saye farther nede I not to go. But yet wyll I somewhat touch þe thyng wherch as ye say do moue many mē to take þe worshyp of ymagē for ydolatre. And yt so take they oppnyō so reputed / they reken yt a groude to thynke þe myzacles done at þe ymagys / or by imocayōs of sayntys to be illusyōs of þe deuyl. And fyrst wyll we begyn at þe sayntys them selfe. And by þe waye shall we speke of theyr relyques ymagys & pylgrymagē as there shal occasiō ryse in our mater. And for þe fyrst in good fayth saynge that þe booke & wytyng of holy doctours cōdemne these mēys herelyes / þe dyspleasure & anger wherof setteth them on a fyre to study for þe mynyshynge of theyr estymacyō that so stande in theyr lyght / ellys wold I mych wōt et what these heretyques merite to impugne the worshyp of saynt & forbed vs to pray to them. And all be it I knowe þe cause of theyr malysce / yet cā I not myche the lesse meruaile of theyr madnesse / that shewe theyr eny wyll so openly / þe they neyther haue reason nor good coloure to cloke or coner yt wryth. Fyrt they put in dowt wherther sayntys can here

The seconde booke.

here vs. And yf they do / yet whyther they can helpe vs. And fynally yf they coude / yet wold they we shold thynke yt soly to dyspyze theym bycause god cā do yt better & wyl do yt soner hym self than they all. Now where they dowt whyther sayntys here vs / I metuayle wherof that dowt aryseth / but yf they thynke theym dede as well in soule as body. For yf they holys soules lyue / there wyl no wyse man toene theym worse and of lesse loue and charyte to men that nede they helpe whan they be now in heuen / than they had whan they were here in erthe. For all that whyle were they neuer so good / yet the best was worse thā the worst is now. As our saupoure sayd by saynt Iohn p baptiste / that there was no womans sone greater than he / yet the lest that was al redy in heuen was hys better. We se that the nether that folke drawe thitherward / y more good mynde bere they to men here. And therfore saynt Stephē whan he sawe heuyn open for hym / he began to pray for theim y malyceously kylled hym. And thynke we than that beyng in heuyn he wyl not bouchelaufe to pray for theym that deuoutly honour hym / but hath lesse loue and charyte beyng there / than he had goyng thitherward. Of the rychemā that laye in hell had yet not onely for feare of encrease of hys owne punishment by hys brothers dampnacyō goyng of hys euyl ensample in synne / but also of a carnall loue & fleschly fauour toward hys kynne (whych fleschly affectyon beyng without grāce or bectre may peraduenture stande wth the state of dampnacyō) had a cure & care of hys frys brethren / were yt lyhly that sayntys than beyng so full

of blessed charyte in heuen / wyl no thynge care for they brethren in Cryst whome they se here in this wretched world. Now yf there be no dout as I trowe none ther is / but they holys soules be aloue / they wold we dyd well. And as lytle dowte but that they be aloue yf god be they god / as he is in dede / and he not the god of dede men but of lyuyn / as our saupour sayth in the gospel / for all men lyue styll and euer shall / that he hath taken to hym onys gūe lyue vnto / there resteth thā no ferther to se but whyther they can do vs eny good or no / eyther for y they cā not here vs / or for that they cā not help vs. & fyrst I metuayl mych yf they thike they cā not helpe vs. For whyle they were here they coude as appereth in thactys of thapostles. And syth imbecyllite & lacke of power is here part of our mysery / and strength of plente of power is one grete parte of welthe / they were well forthered in that poynt yf they were now lesse able to do good to theym whom they sayne wold were holp / thā they were before. For wher they be able there to do yt theym self / or onely by they intercessyon made vnto god / thys maketh no forse for our mater / so that by they meanes y tone waye or the tother we take helpe by our deuocyon toward theym & praye made vnto them. ¶ I thynke yf they may do in dede myche more than they myght both by power and prayer. But yt is harde somwhat to thynke / that they shold here vs and se vs / and speecally in so many placys at onys. For though they be not excommunicated in place for lacke of bodyly dysmentys and measyng / yet are they and angels also dysfynitively so placed where they

they be for the tyme / that they be not
at one tyme in dyuerse placys at onys
as sayntys be in sundry countreys / &
bery farre asūdye called bypō at onys.
¶ We meruayle quod I and thynke yt
harde to be bpleued / that sayntys here
be. And I wbyle we se that þ̄ thyng
we pray for we obtayn / meruayl mych
more how men can doubt wbyther the
prayers be herd or not. Whā sayntys
were in thys world at lyberte & myght
walkyd the world about / wene we þ̄
in heuē they stand tyed to a post. But
the wonder is how they may se & here
in sondry placys at onys. If we two
coude no more but fele and nether se
noz here / we wolde as well wondye.
¶ Or yf we could not wondye therof by
cause we coude not here therof / yet
shold we be farre from eny cōcepyng
in our mynde / that it were possyble for
man to se or here ferther than he can
fele. For we that proue yt and do se
and here in dede / can not yet se the
cause / noz in no wyse cease to won-
dye by what reason and meane yt
may be / that I sholde se two chyches
or two townes eche of the two a myle
a sonder / & bothe twayne as farre fro
me as eche of theym fcome other / and
measure so grete quantytyes wth so
small a measure as is the lytle apple of
my n eye. And of heyrng many mēys
boyris or eny mannys word / coming
at onys in to many mennys eys stan-
dyng far a sonder / hath lyke diffyulte
to cōceyue. And whan all the reasons
be made eyther of hemys sent out fro
our eyen to the thing that we behold /
or the fygure of þ̄ thyng is sene / multiplyed
in the eye from þ̄ thyngs to our
eye / or of the eye stryke wth þ̄ byeth
of þ̄ speketh / and squally collunge forth

in tundes to the eares of the hearers /
whan all the reasons be herd / yet shall
we rather delyte to serche than be able
to fynde eny thyng in these maters þ̄
were able to make vs perceyue yt. Now
whan we may wth our flesshly eye
ere in thys groce body se and here thyn-
gys far dystant from vs and from son-
dry placys far dystant a sonder / mer-
uayll we so mych that blyssed aungels
and holy soules / beyng mere spyrtyual
substancys / vncharged of all boudy-
nous fleshe and bonys / may in doyng
the same as ferre passe and excede vs &
our powers naturall / as þ̄ lyuely soule
selfe excedeth our deedly body / noz can
not bpleue they here vs though we
fynde they helpe vs / but yf we percey-
ued by what meanes they do yt / as
wbyther they se and here vs comyng
hyther to vs / or our voyce comig hense
to theym / or wbyther god here and se
all & shewe yt theym / or wbyther they
behold yt in hym as one doth in a boke
the thyng that he redeth / or wbyther
god by some other way dooth vter yt
vnto theym as one dooth in spekyng /
except we may knowe the meanes we
wyl not ellys bpleue the mater. As
wyse as were he that wold not bpleue
he can se / bycause he can not perceyue
by what means he may se. ¶ Yet se I
quod he no cause or nede why we shold
pray to theym / syth god can as well
wyl as gladly both here vs and helpe
vs as eny saynt in heuē. ¶ What nede
you quod I to praye eny physycyon to
helpe your feuer / or praye and pray eny
surgeon to hele your soze legge / syth
god can here you and helpe you bothe
as wel as the best / & loueth you better
and can do yt soner / and more aforthe
hys plasters better chepe / & gyue you
more

The seconde booke.

more for your word than they for your money. ¶ But this is his pleasure quod he that I shal be holpen by the meane of theym as hys instrumentys / though in dede all thys he doth hym selfe. For he gyueth the nature to the thyngys & they do yt wyth. ¶ So hath yt quod I pleased god in lyke wyse / that we shal aske help of hys holy saynt. And pray for helpe to theym. For that is not a makynge of theymequal vnto god hym self though they do yt by hys wyl & power / or he at theyr intercessio. Though god wyl as reason is / be ches a haue no matche / yet forbedeth he not one man to pray for helpe of a nother. And though he the father hath giuen all the Judgement to hys sone / yet doth he de- lyte to haue his holy sayntis partyners of that honour / and at the day of Judgement to haue theym syt wyth hym. Was Helyseus made egall to god by- cause the wydowe prayed hym to re- uue her dede sone. Were the apostles egall to Criste by cause that they were prayd vnto for help after hys deeth in hys lyfe also. And many thyngys byd they at folkys prayer. And sometyme they were prayed vnto and assayed yt also / and yet coude not do yt / but the parties were fayne to go fro theym to theyr maister therfore. And yet was he content that they were prayed vnto. And for profe therof suffred they in at mennys deuout instance and prayer / to do many myracles. And sometyme were they prayed to be intercessours to theyr mayster. As where they came to Crist & sayd / Dimitte illam quia cla- mat post nos / dyspache thys woman for she cryeth vppon vs. And thynk you than that he kepynge content & grynng men occasyon to pray to theym while

they were wyth hym in erthe / he wyl be angry yf we do theym as mych wor- ship whā they be wyth hym in heuyn. Nay / but I thynke on the tother syde syth his pleasure is to haue hys saynt had in honoure and prayed vnto / that they may be for vs intercessours to hys hygh mayestye / where vnto ere we pre- sume to approche / yt becometh vs and well behoueth vs to make frendys of suche as he hath in fauoure. He wyl dysdayn / onys to loke at vs yf we be so presumptuous and malapert felowes / that vppon boldnes of famylia rye w- hym selfe / we dysdayn to make our in- tercessours hys especyall beloued fren- dis. And where saynt Poule exhorteth vs eche to pray for other / & we be glad to this yt well done to pray euery poe- man to pray for vs / sholde we thynke yt euill done to pray holy saynt in he- uen to the same. ¶ Why shoulde we by that reason I myght pray not only to saynt / but also to euery other dede mā. ¶ So may ye quod I wyth good reason / yf ye se none other lykelyhed but that he dyed a good mā. And so fynde we (as I remembre) in the dialogys of saynt Grego- ry / yf one had helpe by prayoure made vnto an holy man late deceased whych was hym self yet in purgatory. So lyked yt our lord to let the world knowe that he was in hys especyall fa- uoure / though he were yet in payne of hys purgatory. For our lord loued hym neuer the lesse / though he lefte not for hym order of hys maynfull Justyce. And therfore let no mā take hys trou- ble or spheutle as a token of goddys hatred / but yf he fele hym selfe groud- ge and be unpacēt and euill content wyth yt. For thā is yt a tokē of wrath and vengeance / and is to the sufferer as

as feutfull as paynfull. And in effecte
nothyng ellys but the begynnynge of
hys hell eopn here. But on the tother
lyde yf he take yt paciētly yt purgeth/
yf gladly yf gretly mereteth/and glad
may he be that is with mekenes glad
of goddys punysshment. Saynt Austyn
as is wrytten by Doolydonius lyenge
soze seke hym selfe of an aces/ cured a
nother wyth hys prayour/ and yet he
dyed of his sykness hym selfe. where
in there was to hym more mercy and
fauour shewed/ than yf hym selfe had
ben cured to. For now in stede of helth
he had heuē where he shold neuer more
be seke agayne. ¶ Mary quod he but I
haue euer herde yt sayd that we sholde
not pray to eny dede mā but wyth this
condycō/ yf thou be a saynt than pray
for me. ¶ Why so q I more thā pray
to a quye mā/ where I am not bound
to say yf thou be a good man pray for
me. But syth I may resonably thynke
hym good whyle I knowe hym not y
cōtrary/ so maye I thynke hym that is
dede. ¶ Why quod he wherof sermeth
canonysynge than. yf thys be trewe I
am neuer auyld to be canonised whyle
I lyue. ¶ We do the better quod I/ nor
seuē yere after neyther. For yt wold be
but a busynes for you. ¶ But why be
they than canonysed than quod he.
¶ Those quod I that be not canonised/
ye may for the more part both pray for
theym & pray to theym. As ye may for
and to theym that ben yet alpye. But
one that is canonysed ye may praye to
hym to pray for you/ but ye maye not
for hym. For as I remēber saynt Au-
steyn saythe that he that prayeth for a
martyr doth y martyr injury. And of
euer y mā ye may trust well and be sel-
dom certayne/ but of the canonysed ye

may taken you sure.

The .ix. chapyter.

¶ The messenger yet agayne ob-
iecteth agaynst reliques. And putteth
grete dowte in canonysynge. where
vnto the authoz maketh answere.

Now cā I quod he be sure therof.
¶ May y takynge vppe of a māns
bones/ and settynge his carcas in a gay
shypne/ & thā kyllynge his bare scalpe/
make a mā a saynt. And yet are there
some vnshyred/ for no man woteth
where they lye. And som that mē doubt
whyther euer they had eny body at all
or not. But mary to recōpence that w
all there be som agayne that haue two
bodys/ to lend one to som good felow
that lacketh. For as I sayd before som
one body lyeth hole in two placys fac
a sonder/ or ellys the mōkys of y tōne
be beggled. For both y placys playnly
asserme that yt lyeth there. And at ey-
ther place they shew the shypne. And in
y shypne they shew a body whych they
say is the body and boldly hyde therby
that yt is y/ alledgyng olde wrytynge
& myzacles also for y profe. Now must
we confesse that eyther the myzacles
at the tōne place be false or done by the
deuyl/ or ellys that y same saynt had
ii. bodys in dede. And thā were that
in my mynd as grete a myracle as the
greatest of theym all. And therfore is yt
lykely sōwhere a bone worshypped for
a relique of som holy saynt/ that was
peraduenture a bone as Chaucer sayth
of som holy ierowes shepe. Our saynt
also semeth in y gospel to blame & re-
proue the pharysyes for makynge fref-
she the sepulchres of holy prophetes/
and makynge shypnes of theyr graues.
whereby yt appereth that he wold not
haue the dede bodys worshypped and
let

The seconde booke.

set in gay golden shypnes. And yet be-
sydys this ye shal fynde many mo woꝝ
shypped I wene than shypped / many
shypped that ye fynde not canonysed /
though ye seke vp all y regestres in Ro-
me. And whan they be shypped and ca-
nonysed to / yet syth the chyꝛche in the
canonysacyon bleth a meane that may
begyle theym / for they stande to the
recoꝝde of men both of theyꝝ lyues and
of theyꝝ myꝛacles / whych me may per-
adventure lye / why may yt not than
be / that the chyꝛche be deceyued in the
canonysacyon. And that they may for
lacke of trow knowledge byleuyng
yntrow me / canonysed for sayntys such
folke sometyme as be full farre there
from. I dare not say so mych as sayth
saynt Austyn. For he letteth not to say
playnly that many bodyes be woꝝshypp-
ped for saynt here in erthe / whose sou-
les be berped in hel. ¶ We haue quod I
sayd many thyngys very stoutly. But
yet let vs fyrst consyder wherevnto al
to gether wayeth. For yt stretcheth no
ferther yf yt were all trow / but that
we myght be deceyued in some that we
shold take for sayntys. And yt neyther
proueth y there be no sayntys / whych
I wote well no wyse man wyll saye /
nor that yf eny be they sholde not be
woꝝshypped nor prayed vnto. ¶ Except
ye wolde say that yf we myght by pos-
syblyte mystake some / therfore we
sholde woꝝshypp none. And than sholde
you by that reason neuer take eny phy-
sycyon / syth ye myght happen vppon a
dogge leche for lacke of knowledge of
the connyng. For in recoꝝdis of men ye
myght be as well deceyued there / as
here. Now suppose than fyrste that of
sayntys of telyques / some were trow
and some were false. yet the woꝝshypp

that ye wold we shold do to theym
all / shold be bycause (that standyng as
they do vnknewen and vndercerved)
ye trowed theym all trow and all for
goddys well beloued seruauntes. For
yf ye knew of theym which were trow
and whyth false / than wolde ye woꝝ-
shypp the trow / and trowe y false vnder
fote. ¶ That is no dowt q he. ¶ Than
quod I yf we were begyled in some / I
se no grete peryll growe toward vs
thereby. For yf there came a grete mea-
ny of the kyngys frendys in to your co-
trye / and ye for hys sake made theym
all grete chere. yf there came amonge
theym vntow to ycu some spyꝛes that
were hys moztall enemyes / werynge
hys badge and semyng to you and so re-
ported as hys famylare frend / whe-
ther wolde he blame you for the good
chere ye made hys enemyes or thanke
ycu for the good chere ye made hys fre-
dys. ¶ He wolde I thynke q he thake
me for the good intreasyng of theym
both / syth both seemed good to me / and
both had of me theyꝝ chere but for they
semed hys frendys and for hys sake.
¶ We say q I good reason. But I put
case now that ye had an inkelyng or
ellys a playne watyng / that som of
them were hys enemyes that semed hys
best frendys / but whyth they were no
man came tell you / what wolde you
now do / make theym all chere and ho-
nourably entreate theym all / or elles
shewyng theym that ye here say playn-
ly that some of theym be nought / there-
fore byd theym te walkyng all wyth
loꝝow. ¶ Nay quod he no dowt were
yt / but that I shold loke for thanke yf
I cheryshed hys enemyes for hys fren-
dys / rather then despytfully to handel
hys frendys for hys enemyes. ¶ Vterp
well

well quod I. And thys were trewe all
 though ye had warnyng that some of
 the were hys enemyes. But what thake
 wold ye then deserue yf ye shold shake
 of bothe / where ye had no suche war-
 nyng at all / but wold say that ye durst
 not make eny of theym chere / bycause
 ye thought that peraduēture yt myght
 be that som were wors thā they were
 takē for. For in suche case be you here /
 ye know not that eny mā worschyped
 for a saynt is none / but only ye thynke
 that ys be not sure whether all be or
 som not. yes quod he saynt Austyn as
 I tolde you grueth me warnyng / that
 many be none. ¶ Ye be q I deceyued
 thetin / as I shall tell you after. But
 in y meane whyle marke me wel this /
 and let yt stande for a sure grounde / y
 all your obiectyon yf yt were trewe /
 serueth not agaynst worschypinge of
 sayntys or sayntys relikes / but aga-
 ynst the worschypinge of such as were
 no sayntys nor no sayntys relikes.
 And that after yt were proued / & now
 this thyng y is in questyō beynge fyrst
 confessed and agreed betwene vs for a
 thyng nothyng able to hurt our pry-
 eynall mater / let vs go fether thetin
 and serche whether we fynde eny such
 caus of dout in eny / or haue good cause
 to rekeyn our self sure that all be saynt
 in dede / to whome y chyrch of Crist hath
 in honour and veneracyon for sayntys.
 fyrst as for y authoꝛyte that ye alled-
 ge of saynt Austyn / I haue herd it of it
 alledged in lyke wyse for the same pur-
 pose. But surely they that so take saint
 Austyn ben foule deceyued. I durst be
 holde to say that saynt Austyn byd ne-
 uer worsch such word / but yt is a word
 coune in many mennys mouthes / by
 gone by my making and bleyed with

out cramynacyon. For surely y word
 wherof they toke y occasiō whiche be
 worscheth i y fyrst boke de ciuitate dei /
 & repeteth agayne i hys boke of y cure
 and care that men sholde haue for them
 that be dede / those word. I say go far
 wyde frome all such purpose. For there
 he speketh onely of costely but pence / &
 makynge of sumptuous sepulchres / and
 doyng y dede corpes of ryche mē world-
 ly worschyp in the carpenge for the and
 enteerynge of the body / as yt playnly
 and euydently appereth by the mater y
 he worscheth of. ¶ And surely y the oute-
 lord neuer wold amōge hys cholen peo-
 ple grue y gloꝛy of hys name to a no-
 ther / nor neuer so suffred ydolatry a-
 mong the iewes / but y eyther he forth
 with punysshed and pouꝛged yt / or so
 leuered the floke of ydolaters that yt
 might wel appere where his saythfull
 flock remayned / as yt drde when that
 Samary fallynge to ydolatry / y ryght
 synagoge of y iewes remayned in Ihe-
 rusalem and in Judea / thys were full
 ynlykely that this holy synagoge beynge
 sent vnto hys chyrch here to remayne
 and instruct yt / and hym self also there
 with beynge & guyng hys spereall
 assentence vnto shende of the world /
 sholde eyther suffer hys chyrch to be vn-
 known or in such wyse to erre and be
 deceyued / as to grue honour to the de-
 uyll in stede of hym self / or to hys ene-
 myes in stede of hys frend. And ther-
 fore when the chyrch by dyligent en-
 serche / fyndeth the lyfe of a man holy /
 and that theto yt is well wytnessed y
 god by hys myꝛacles testyfyeth y mā-
 nys blessednesse & the fayour in wherch
 he standeth with hym in heuen / decy-
 ryng by the boote and profyt wherch be-
 doth to many men for hys sake that he
 wyll

The seconde boke.

wyll haue hym honoured and had for
hallowed in hys chyrch here in erth/ a
chrys chynge epyther by them that hath y
cure of hys chyrche after suche dylige
ce vled/ beyng by y canonyslacyon de
clared vnto the people/ or yaduenture
wythout canonyslacyon growen there
of (by the holynes well known/ and
myracles many sene) so sure a comon
psuasyon/ thzough the hoole people of
chrystendom y the person ys acceptyd
and reputyd for an vndoubted saynt/
be the bonys traslatyd or not/ hys body
founden or not/ al be yt by possyblyte
of nature yt meught be that men were
in suche chynge deceyued as ye haue
sayd/ yet we boldly map and well we
ought in thys case/ to trust y the grace
and ayde of god and hys holy spyrte al
sytyng hys chyrch/ hath gouernyd the
iugemēt of hys mynysters/ a enclined
the myndys of hys people to suche con
sent. And y he hath not sufferyd them
to erre in a chynge so nerely touchyng
hys honoz and woꝛshyp/ epyther truly
to be applyed where hys wyl were yt
should/ vpo hym self or hys holy sayn
tys for hys sake/ or to be wythdrawen
thensle and by erronysous mystryng of
trowth necessary mete and couenyent
to be perceyued of the chyrch for goddes
honoz (whiche kynde of trowth god
sent the holy gost to teche hys chyrch)
the same woꝛshyp to be bestowed vpon
them whom he wold in no wyse should
haue yt/ but whom he relectuith for eter
nal shame. For the body shrynyd or not
maketh no doubt of the saynt. No mā
doubteth of our lady. No mā doubteth
of saynt Johan the euangelyst though
they bodys be not founden. And yet
yf they were/ then were there I thynk
no good chrystyan man but he wold be

contented they were shrynyd and had
in honour. ¶ For where as ye wold ta
ke the reuerence from all relyques by
cause that some be doubtful/ in y some
one sayntys hed is as ye say and of som
y hole body shewed at two sondyꝝ pla
ces/ yt may fortune for all thys that
of one hed ther may by sondyꝝ partyes
and epyther parte in the comē speche of
people called the hed. For at Smyassis
saynt Johans hed the baptist as me call
yt in talkyng/ euen they that haue been
there and sene yt. But then yf they be
askyd further question therof/ they tell
that y nether iowe lacketh. Thys may
well happen also and so doth yt happe
in dede/ by some saynt of whom in .ii.
dyuerse countrees be dyuers shrynes.
And there be rekened & reported y in
epyther of them be layd the hole body/ &
y pylgrymes at neyther places do loke
in to y cofyn of y shryne to se whether
yt be all or parte. In some place per
aduenture lay y body/ by a some occa
syon y body translated thensle of olde/
and yet the shryne shewed styll wryth
som of the relyques remaynyng there
in. yt may well happe also that there
were two good holy men in dyuerse co
ntrees bothe of one name. And percase
in some place may there be som very re
lyques vnknowē and mystnamed. For
in olde tyme when men at the incursyō
of infydels dyd thide holy sayntys re
lyques/ at the fyndyng agayn the na
mes happely decayed/ some relyques
myght rest vnknowen/ or some perad
uenture lese or mystryken. As my selfe
sawe at chabbeꝝ of Bachyng besydes
Londō to my remembraunce about .ccc.
yeres past in y lettynge an olde ymage
in a newe tabernacle/ the backe of the
ymage beyng all pernyted ouer and of
longe

longe tyme before layde wyth beten golde happenyd to calse in one place/ and out ther fell a praty lytell doore/ at whiche fell out also many relikes that had lyeen vnknowen in that ymage god wot how longe. And as longe had ben lyhely to lye agayne/ yf god by that chaunce had not brought them to lyght. & he byshop of London cam then thider to see there were no decepte therein. And I among other was present there while he lokyd theron and examyned the mater. And in good fayth yt was to me a marueyle to beholde y manner of yt I haue forgotten myche therof/ but I remember a lytell pece of wood that was rudely shapen in crosse wyth threde wypped about yt. wytyng had yt none and what yt was we coude not telle/ but yt semyd as newe cut as yf yt had ben done wthin one day before. And dyuerse relikes had olde wytyngys on them and som had none/ but among other were there certeyne smale ketchers whych were namyd there our lades/ and of her owne workyng. Courte wot they not/ nor they wot not large/ but seayd as yt semyd to caste in a playn and simple maner vpo her hedde. But suerly they were asclene semys to my semyng as euer I saw in my lyfe/ and were ther wyth as whyte for all the long lyeing/ as yf they had ben wasshed and layd by wythin one houre. And how longe that ymage had stande in that olde tabernacle that coude no man tell/ but there had in all the chyrche none as they thought standen lenger vntowched. And they gessyd that. iiii. oz. v. C. yere agoo/ that ymage was hydden when the abbey was burnyd by y in-

fidelys/ & those relikes hydden therein. And after the ymage founden and set by many yeres after/ when they were gone that had hydden yt. And so the relikes remayned vnknowen therein tyll now that god gaue that chaunce that openyd yt. And thus as I say may yt peraduenture happen/ some names to be forgotten oz haply to be mystake/ and yet god well content that the relikes be had in reuerence/ syth he specially fauoreth theyr persons/ and needeth nothyng theyr names to knowe them by. As he shall onys so fully restore agayn many a glozyous body/ that they shall not lose the leste here of theyr hedde/ that may serue to theyr betwyt/ of whome the namys haply the hole worlde hath longe agoo forgotten. And the name is not so very requypte/ but that we may mystake yt wythout partell/ so that we neuer the lesse haue the relikes of holy men in reuerence/ but as for pyggys bones for holy relikes/ oz dampned wyches to be worshypped for sayntys/ all be yt yf yt happened/ yet yt nothyng hurtyd the soules of them that mystake yt/ no more the yf we worshyp an holte in the masse whiche petraie the negligence oz malice of som leude prestre hath leste vnconsecrate. yet is yt neuer to be thought though suche a thyng might happen sodeynly/ that euer god wyll suffer suche a thyng to laste and endure in hys chyrch. & For albe yt that hys chyrch vseth one mean that might as ye saye begyle them/ whych is the recozde and vpryncipe of men/ yet hath yt in suche thyngys as saynt Thomas & other holy doctours wyte/ an other means besyde/ whych

neuer

The seconde booke.

neuer can begyle them. And that is þe
 assyſtence of god and þe holy ghoſte. For
 elles myght the chyrch be moſt eaſily
 begyled in the receyving of the very
 ſcripture / wherin they take outwardly
 but the teſtymonys of me from mouth
 to mouth and hande to hande / wythout
 other examynacyō. But þe ſecret meane
 that enclyneth they credulyte to con-
 ſent in the byleuyng all in one poyn-
 te whych ys the ſecret inſyncte of god /
 thys is the ſure meane that neuer can
 in any neceſſarye poyn- te faile here in
 Chryſtys chyrch. For yf yt myght / all
 were quyte at large. And that poyn-
 tonyſ taken awaye / ſcripture and all
 walketh wyth yt. And in thys mynde
 as yt ſeemeth / was very ſure and fa-
 ſtely confermyd þe holy Appoſtle ſayn-
 thys. Whych in his fyrſte epyſtle to
 the Corynthyes wyrteth in this wyle.
 Obſecto vos fratres per nomen domi-
 ni noſtri Jeſu Chryſti vt idipſum dicat
 omnes / et non ſint in vobis ſciſmata /
 ſed ſitis integrum corpus eadem mēte
 et eadem ſententia. I beſeeche you my
 brothren by the name of our lord Jhu
 Chryſt / that you ſay all one thyng / and
 let ther be no ſcylmes oz ſeueral ſect
 among you / but be ye one hole entiere
 body of one mynde and one ſentence.
 Trough is yt that he taught them and
 other the ryght way ſo ferloſt / that he
 boldely forbode an angell of heuyn to
 be byleuyd / yf any wold come & preche
 a nother goſpell. But yet in this place
 I note myche / that he calleth vpon
 them only for agreement / byddyng
 them only to agre all vpon one thyng /
 and makyth no mencyon of agreement
 vpon the beſte and vpon the trouthe /
 but only to auoyde all dyſcoyde & dyſ-

ſon and by comen conſent exhortyth
 them to agree all in one / meanyng
 therby as me thynketh / yf the chyrch
 of Chryſt entendyng well / do all agree
 vpon any one thyng concernyng goddes
 honour oz mannyſ ſoule / yt can not be
 but that thyng muſt nedes be true. For
 goddes holy ſpyrit that anymateth his
 chyrch and geueth yt lyfe / wyll neuer
 ſuffer yt all conſent and agree togeder
 vpon any dampnable erreure. And
 therfore wold he neuer ſuffer þe chyrch
 ſo fully to conſent in the woꝛſhip of
 ſayntys and reuerence of reſpyques / yf
 yt were a thyng ſuche as ſom me wold
 haue yt ſeime that is to wytte a thyng
 faile and ſayned. ¶ Wherin as myche
 as ye laye to mynysſhe they credence /
 that yt myghte ſeime as ye ſaye wyl
 ynough that ſome of the were ſaynyd /
 yet wyll I neuer prouyd that any ſuch
 lo taken and by the chyrche approued /
 was euer yet hitherto repud / eyther
 here in Chryſtys chyrch oz amonge the
 Jewes in they ſynagoge befoze Chry-
 ſtys days / and yet ſayntys they had
 in honour as patryarches and pphet
 and they bodies and reſpyques in re-
 uerence. Now yf of ſuch as ſeemd good
 men we neuer had founden any for
 ppochytyſ / albe yt yt myght be that
 ſome were ſuche / yet wolde we not I
 thynke ſuppoſe that there were any ſo
 in dede / yf we neuer had knowen yt
 tyled and prouyd ſo. And why ſhall we
 then of ſaynt oz reſpyques haue doubte
 & myſtruſt. Of whom beynge receyued
 by the chyrch for trew / we neuer that
 I coulde wytt ſynne god wrought the
 woꝛlde tyled and prouyd any of both
 ſortys vntrewe / neyther as I ſay in the
 chyrche of Chryſt noꝛ ſynagoge of the
 Jewes

Jewes / whych two sortys only were
goddess chosen people. And yet had as
well the Jewes as we both sayntys as
I sayd in honour / and theyr relikes
in grete reuerence / as appereth as well
by the gospel as by the olde testamēt.
¶ Jacob that holy patryarche comaū-
ded hys chyldren in hys deeth bed to
cary hys body to the beryall out of that
countrey of Egypte / and so they dyd.
And Joseph also rehered hys byetherne
that when they shoulde after departe
out of Egypte / they shoulde cary hys bo-
nyes wyth them. The dede bonys of y
prophet Heliseus as the byble mencyo-
neth reyled a dede body to lyfe. And
thynke you then that those bonys were
not there honoured for holy relikes.
¶ For our sauour Crist blameth not
the Jewes in the gospel for that they
garnished the sepulchres of y olde pro-
phetys / wyth whose honour he was
well content / but for y they cōdemp-
ned them selfe in folowynge the condy-
cyon of them that slewe the / entēdyng
to kyll Crist as theyr forefathers dyd
hys holy prophetys. For as for y dede
bodies of the holy prophetys that god
wold haue them had in honour and re-
uerence he declared well by that he re-
yled a dede body by the touche of y dede
bonys of the prophete Heliseus as I
sayd you byfore. ¶ Dyd not our lord in
the syndyng of that holy relike hys
holy crosse declare by myracle and ma-
ke hys owne crosse knownen from the
crosses of the .ii. theues by the reysyng
of a dede man wyth the touche therof.
Wher in ys to be notyd by the waye / y
there was betwen hys and theyres no
notable dyfference / but they naped as
he was / or ellys had yt be no doubt

vypon the fyrst syght to hyche of them
was his. Was not the body of saynt
Steayn found out by myracle and the
hed of saynt Johā baptyst also / yes of
surete and many a nother holy martyr
moore / that ellys had ben vnknownen.
Wherby well appereth that god wolde
haue not theyr soules only / but also
theyr bodies / and in a maner the bery
soles of theyr shone set by for theyr
sakes / and them self for hys. Was not
the woman heled by the touche of our
lordes garmentys. Hath ther not both
amonge the Jewes and crysten people
also many men maruellously ben hol-
pen by the only touche of holy sayntys
vestures. And doubt we then whether
god wolde we shoulde worschyp them
when he so well and aboue nature re-
wardeth vs for y worschyp we do them.

¶ The .x. chapyter.

¶ The messenger obiecteth many
thyngys agaynst pylgrymagis and
relikes & worschyping of sayntes /
bycause of moche superstycious ma-
ner vied therein / and vnlyffull pe-
tycyons asked of them / and harme
growynge ther vypon.

The seconde boke.

Saynt I praye you he ye haue in my mynde be
 ry well touched y mater / conser
 uynge that yt ys not in bayne to pray
 to sayntys nor to worshyp thein and
 to haue theyr relikes in som reuerence.
 But say all thys ys farre frome the
 grete soze. For though sayntys may
 here vs and helpe vs to / and arne
 gladde and wyllynge so to do / and
 god also contented that they and theyr
 relikes and ymagys also be hadde
 in honoure / yet can neyther he nor
 they be content wyth the maner of
 the worshyp. First takynge awaye
 hys owne worshyp in that we do them
 the same worshyppe in euery poynte
 that we do to god. And secondely ta
 kyng thei worshyp from them then
 also in that we do to theyr ymagys
 y same y we do to the self / takig theyr
 ymag for them self and so make not
 theym selfe onely / but also theyr yma
 gys felowes and matchys to god /
 wherwyth as I haue sayde befoze /
 neyther god nor good saynt can nor
 good man ought to be contente and
 pleased. ¶ In saythe quod I therein yt
 yt so be ye saye very trewe. ¶ What
 saye we then quod he of the harme y
 gooth by goynge of pylgrymagys / ro
 lynge aboute in ydlenes / wyth the
 ropt / reuelynge / and rybatowdy / gla
 tony / wantonnes / waste / and leche
 ry. ¶ Trowe ye that god and hys holy
 sayntys had not leuer they lytte styll
 at home then thus to come seke them
 wyth suche worshypfull leturce.
 ¶ Yes surely quod I. ¶ What saye we
 then quod he to that I spake not of
 yet / in whyche we do them lytell wor
 shyp whyle we set euery saynt to hys
 offyce and assygne hym a crafte suche

as pleaseth vs. Saynt I praye we ma
 ke an horslerche / and must let out horsse
 rather renne ynshodde and marre hys
 hooft than to shoo hym on hys daye.
 wherch we muste for that poynt more
 relygiously kepe hygh and holy then
 Ester daye. And bycause one symth
 is to fowle at a forge / we set saynt apo
 lytas to helpe hym. And on saynt Ste
 uyns daye we must let all our horsse
 blood wyth a knyfe / bycause saynt
 Stephen was kyllid wyth stones.
 Saynt Appollyn we make a tothe dra
 wer / and maye speke to her of no thyn
 ge but of soze tethe. Saynt Sythe wo
 men sette to seke theyr keyes. Saynt
 iroke we set to se to the grete sekene /
 bycause he had a soze. And wyth hym
 they ioyne saynt Sebastyan bycause
 he was martyred w arrowes. Some
 setue for the eye onely. And some for
 a soze brest. Saynt German only for
 chyldren. And yet wyll be not onys
 loke at theym / but yf the mother byrn
 ge wyth them a whyte lose and a pot
 of good ale. And yet is he wyset the
 saynt wylgefozte / for she good sou
 le is as they saye scrupd and content
 wyth oty. wher of I can not per
 ceue the reason / but yf yt be by
 cause she sholde proude an horsse for
 an euill husbonde to ryde to the de
 uyll bypon: For that ys the thyng
 that she is so soughte for as they saye
 In so moche that women hath ther
 fore chaunged her name / and in ste
 de of saynt wylgefozte call her saynt
 Tincumber / bycause they reken y for
 a pek of oty she wyll not fayle to br
 cūber the of theyr husbōd. I oge wor
 ke were yt to reherse pou the dyutle
 maner of many praty pylgrymagys /
 but

but one or two wil I tel you. The tone Montan^r spekyth of in hys dyalogues how saynt Martyn is worshypped. I haue forgot þ^r towne but the maner I can not forget yt is so straunge. Hys ymage is on hys day bozne in processio about all the stret. And yf yt be a fayr day then ble they as he cometh by / to cast rose water and all thyngys of pleisant sauoure vpon hys ymage. But and it happen to rayne / out poure they yspottys vpon hys hed / at euery doore and euery wyndowe. ys not thys a swete seruyce and a worshyppfull worshypp. And thys as I saue Montanus wyrteth and telleth where yt is. But thys that I shall nowe telle you / I dare as boldely make you sure of / as yf I hadde sene yt my selfe. At saynt Maletres here in Wyndesore there is a fayr abbey where saynt Maletre was monke. And vpon a furloinge of or two by in a wood is there a chapel / in whych the saynt is specially sought vnto for the stone / not onely in those partyes but also oute of Englonde. Now was there a yonge gentylman whych had maryed a marchauntes wyfe. And hauyng a lytell wanto money whych hym thought byennyd out the botom of hys purs in the fyrst yere of hys weddyng / toke hys wyfe wyth hym and went ouer the see for none other errande but to se Flaunders and Fraunce and ryde oute one somer in those countrees. And hauyng one in his company that tolde by the waye many straunge thyngys of that pylgrymage / he thoght he wold go somewhat out of his way eyther to se it yf it were trewe / or laugh at hys man yf he found yt false as he veryly thought he sholde haue done in dede. But whē they came

in to the chapell they founde yt all trewe. And to beholde they founde yt fonder then he hadde tolde. For lyk as in other pylgrymagys ye se hanged vpleggys of ware or armes or suche other partyes / so was in that chapell all theyr offryngys that honged about the wallys / none other thynges but mennys gere and womens gere made in ware. Then was there besydes thys two rounde ryngys of syluer / the tone moche larger then the tother. Through whych euery man dyde put his preynt membris at the aulters end. Not euery man through bothe / but som through the one and som through the tother. For they were not bothe of a bygnes / but the one larger than the other. Then was there yet a monke stādyng at the aulter that halowed certayne chedys of venyce golde. And them he deliuered to the pylgrymes / techyng them in what wyse them self or theyr frendys sholde vse those chedys agaynst þ^r stone. That they sholde knytte yt about theyr gere / and say I can not tell you what prayers. And when the monke had declared the maner the gentylman hadde a seruaunt that was a maryed man and yet a meury felawe / and he thankyng the monke for the chede / despyed hym to teche hym how he shold knytte yt about his wyues gere. Whych except þ^r monke had som special crafte in knyttyng he thought wold be cōbersome bycause her gere was somewhat short. It nede not to tell you þ^r euery man laughed thā / saue þ^r monke y^r cast vpon hys rynges / hys chedys in a grete angre / went his way. Was not thys. I byde by god I had almost forgotten one thyng that wolde not be leste for a grote. As thys gentylman

The seconde booke.

tylman and hys wyfe were knelynge in the chapell there came a good sadde woman to hym / shewynge hym that one the specyall poynte bled in that pylgrymage and the surest agaynst the stone / she wyfte nere whether he were yet aduertysed of. Whyche yf yt were done she durste lay her lyfe he shoulde neuer haue the stone in hys lyfe. And that was she wolde haue the length of hys gere / and that shoulde she make in a ware candell / whyche shoulde brenne vp in the chapell / and certayn prayers shold there be sayd the while. And thys was agaynst the stone the very shote anker. When he had herde her (and he was one that in earnest fered the stone) he went and asked his wyfe counsail. But she lyke a good faythfull crysten woman loued no suche superstycions. She coulde abyde the remanant well ynough. But whē she hadde onys of brennyng vp the candell / she knytte the browes and earnestly blyssynge her. Beware in the vertue of god what ye do quod she. Burne vp quod A. mary god forbede. yt wolde wast vp your gere vpon payne of my lyfe. I praye you beware of suche wechertaste. Is thys kynde of seruyce and worschyp acceptable and pleasaunt vnto god and hys sayntys. Now when people worschyp sayntys in suche wyse that they make them felowes to god / and ymagys in suche wyse that they take the for the sayntys self / and then agayn on the other syde honour them wth / such superstycious wayes that the paynym goddys were worschipped wth no worse / fynally that worst is of al / pray to the for vniuersall thyngys as the wys praye to the chefe that longe on the right hede of

Cryste to speke them well in theyr tobery / and haue foude hym a name also callynge hym Wylmas I wene and hys selowe Wylmas to ryme wothall / thynke you not that thys gere is such amonge the people as rather were lykely so to prouoke god and hys saynt to dyspleasure / that the deuyll shold haue lycence & lyberty therfore to worke hys wonders in delusyon of our superstycious ydolatry / then so to lyke and content our lord that he shoulde shew myracles for the comprobacyō of that maner of worschypinge whyche we may well perceyue al reason religyon and vertue reponeth.

The xi. chaptyer.

The authoz answereth all the objections proponed by the messenget in the tenth chaptyer. And some of them touched by þ messenger moze at large in other partes before.

Our hole tale in effecte quod I cōteynyth thre thyngys. One that the people worschyp the sayntys and theyr ymagys also wth lyke honour as they do god hym self. Another that they take the ymag for the thyngys self / whych poyntys do sowne to ydolatry. The thyrde is the superstycious fasthyon of worschyppe wth desyre of vniuersall thyngys. And syth the worschyp that the people do to the sayntys and thymagys be suche / ye conclude þ thyng dyspleasaunt to god and to all halowes / and that yt may therby well appere that the myracles also be not þ work of god but þ delusyon of þ deuyll. The fyrst poynt whych ye haue now wyse touched ys at onys some shortly answered for yt ys not new. For though we knete to in it and ymagys and incēte them also / yet

yt ys not trew that therfore they woꝝ-
 shyp them in euery poit lyke vnto god.
 ¶ What poynte lacke they quod he.
 ¶ Mary the chyf of all quod I. That
 ys þ they woꝝshyp god woth þ mynde
 that he ys god/ wherch mynd in woꝝ-
 shyp ys the only thyng that makyth yt
 latria and no certeyne gesture noꝝ bo-
 dyly obseruaunce. Not a we wold wal-
 low vpon the grounde vnto Crys- ha-
 uing therwoth a mynd that he were
 the beste man þ we coude deuyse and
 thynkyng hym not god. For yf þ lowly
 maner of bodyly obseruaunce were þ
 thyng that wold make latria/ the wer
 we moch i parcell of ydolatre in our
 curteyse blyd to pꝛyncys pꝛelac & po-
 pꝛys to whō we knele as low as to god
 almyghty/ & kysse somme theyr hādes
 and somme our a tone/ oꝝ euer we plu-
 me to touche them/ & in the poope hys
 fote. And as for encensyng/ the pooꝛe
 pꝛestys in euery quere be as well encē-
 syd as þ sacramēt. So that yf latria þ
 ys þ spꝛyall honoꝛ due to god stode in
 such thigys/ thā were we grete ydola-
 tres/ not i our woꝝshyp done to saynt
 only & theyr ymag/ but also to mē one
 to a nother amōg our self. But all be yt
 that god ought of duty to haue w our
 body the moost humble & lowly reuerē-
 ce that we can possyble deuyse/ yet ys
 not that bodyly woꝝshyp latria/ but yf
 we so doo yt/ that in our mynd we con-
 syder and knowlege hym for god/ and
 woth that cōsyderacyon and intent do
 hym that woꝝshyp. And so doth as I
 thynk no crystē mā to ymage oꝝ saynt
 eyther. And so ys aduoyded the patryll
 of ydolatre for þ fyrst poynt yt spake
 of. ¶ Now as touchyng þ second that
 the people take the ymagys for þ saic
 self/ I trust ther be no man so unndes

noꝝ woman neyther/ but þ they know
 quyk mē from dede stonys/ a tree from
 fleshy & bone. And when they pꝛatte as
 ye spake of our lady at our pylgryma-
 ge befoꝛe our lady at a nother/ oꝝ one
 roode befoꝛe a nother/ oꝝ make theyr
 inuocacyons & bowes some to þ tons
 and som to the tother/ I wene yt ethe
 to pꝛeue that they meane none other
 but that our lord and our lady/ oꝝ our
 lord for our lady shewith mo myꝛacles
 at the one then at the other. And that
 they intend in theyr pylgrymage to vy-
 syt som of theym one place and som a-
 nother/ oꝝ partely somtyme as þ place
 lyeth for them as theyr deuotyō ledith
 the/ and yet not for the place/ but for
 þ yt lyketh our lord by manyfest my-
 racles to pꝛoue mē to seke vppō him oꝝ
 hys blyssed mother/ oꝝ some other holy
 saynt of hys in those places moꝛe spe-
 cially then in som other. ¶ The thyng
 selfe also sheweth that they take not
 thymage for our lady her selfe. For yf
 they so dyde/ how coude they possyble
 in any maner wyse haue moꝛe mynde
 to the tone then to the tother. For they
 can haue no moꝛe mynde to our lady
 then to our lady. Moꝛe ouer yf they
 thoght þ thymage at walsynghā were
 our lady her selfe/ then must they ne-
 dys thynke that our lady her selfe were
 that ymage. Then yf in lyke wyse they
 thought that thymage at Ipswoꝛthe
 were our lady her selfe/ and (as they
 must therwoth nedys thynke) that our
 lady her selfe were that ymage at Ip-
 swoꝛthe/ then must they nedes thynke
 therwoth all/ þ all those th. were one
 thyng. And the euery. ii. of them were
 one thyng. And somust they by þ reaso-
 suppose/ that thymage of Ipswoꝛthe
 wer the selfe same ymage þ ys at wal-
 syngham

The seconde booke.

syngham. Wherch yf ye alke any of the
 whom ye take for the simplest except
 a naturall foole. I dare hold you a wa-
 ger the wyll tyl you nay. Besydes thys
 take the simplest foole yf ye can chole/
 & she wyll tel you yf our lady her self is
 in heuē. She wyll also call an ymage &
 ymage / & she wyll tell you a dyfferēce
 betwen an ymage of an hōse & a hōse
 in dede. And the appereth yf wel what
 so enet her word be of her pylgrimage
 by a comune maner of spech to call the
 ymage of our lady our lady / as me say
 go to yf kyngys hed for wyne / not me-
 nyng hys hed in dede but the sygne / so
 meneth she non other in yf ymage but
 our ladys ymage how so enet she cal it.
 And yf ye wyll well pue yf she neyther
 taketh oure ladye for yf ymage nor that
 ymag for our lady (as both must she ta-
 ke yf she take the tone) talke wyth her
 of our lady and she wyll tell you that
 our lady was saluted wyth Gabryell.
 And that our lady fledde vnto Egypte
 wyth Joseph. And yet wyll she not in
 the tellyng / say that our lady of Wal-
 syngham or of Ipselworch was saluted
 of Gabryell or fledde in to Egypte. For
 yf ye wolde aske her whether yt were
 our lady of Ipselworch or our lady of
 Wallsyngham that stode by the crose
 at Crystis passyon / she wyll I warrant
 you make answer yf neyther of both.
 And yf ye demaunde her further wherch
 lady the / she will name you non ymage
 but our lady yf ys in heuen. And thys
 haue I proued of ten and ye may when
 ye wyll and shall spende yt tyme / except
 yt be in our so bety a foole / yf god wyll
 geue her leue to displeue what she ys.
 And lastly for thys point I thynke in
 my mynde that all those betetques yf
 makers thowgh they fōd so mych pa-

rell of ydolatre amōg yf people for nī-
 stakig of ymag / do but deuyse yf sere-
 to haue some cloke to couer theyr he-
 resye / wherin they barke agaynst the
 saynt self. And whē they be markyd /
 then say they mene but the myshylese
 that women haue in ymag. Now as
 to shewing the thyr d poynt of supersty-
 cyouse maner of worschyping / or vni-
 lausfull peyryons desyrd of sayntys /
 as one sample may serue both yf wo-
 men offer otyrs to saynt wylgefort to
 haue her vncūber tle of theyr husban-
 dys / somwhat ys yt in dede yf ye saye /
 and yet not all thynge to be blamed yf
 ye seme to blame. For as to pray to laic
 Appolyn for yf helpe of our teth ys no
 wyrtchecraft / cōsyderyng that she had
 her teth pulled oute for Crystys sake.
 nor ther ys no supsteyon in such other
 thynngys lyke. And peraduenture yf the
 saynt Loy was a ferrour / it is no gree
 fault to pray to hym for yf helpe of our
 hōse. Well then yf he. Syth saynt
 Crispine and saynt Crispynyan were
 shomakers / yt were well done in lyke
 wyse to pray them yf dobothe a mend
 our shone. And pray to saynt Marye the
 for some floures / because she beryth
 alway a basket full. ¶ Payquod I the
 thynngys be no thynge lyke. For yf tone
 thynng pteyneth no thynge to our neces-
 syte / the tother we may do our selfe or
 soone fynd who shall. But as for your
 hōse ys a thynge wherin as well as in
 our bones bodies / a ryght good leche
 may fyle of hys craft / and ys to many
 a man a greter / losse then he may well
 reckon. And albe yt that god comaū-
 ded yf we shold chersly seke for heuen /
 and completh yf yf we so do all other
 thynngys that we nede shal be cast vnto
 heuē / would that we shold in no wyse
 lyue

lyne in anxyete and trouble of mynde
for eny fere of lak/consyderyng that
our father in heuen paydeth meat for
the very byzdyngs of the ayer by whome
he setteth nothyng so mych as he doth
by vs/ yet wylled not he the contrary/
but we shold wyth our bodys labour
therfore/haupng our hert all þ whyle
in heuyn. And wylled also þ we sholde
aake yt of hym/ wythout whole helpe
our labour wyl not serue. And therfore
is our dayly foode one of þ petycyons
of the Water noster/ the prayour that
hym self taught hys dyscyples. And þ
horse he sette not so lytle by/ but that
rather the þ shold petyssh/ he takenyd
yt no breche of þ Saboth day to pull
hym out of a pyt. And therfore in dede
me semeth the deuocyon to conne som
what to facce/ yf þ smytthes wyl not
for eny necessity set one a shoo vppon
saynt Lokes day/ a yet lesfull ynough
to pray for the helpe of a pooze māns
horse. But as for your tethe I wene yf
they akyd well/ ye wolde your selfe
thynke yt a thyng worthy and not to
symple to aske helpe of saynt Appolyn
and of god to. ¶ I remary quod he/ and
of the deuyl to rather then sayle/ as þ
Lumbard dyde for the goote. That
when he had long called vppon god &
our lady and all the holy company of
heuyn and yet felte hym self neuet the
better/ he began at laste to call as faste
for helpe vnto the deuyl. And when
hys wyfe & hys frendes soze abashed
and astonyed rebuked hym for calling
on the deuyl whych he worst well was
naught/ and yf that he holpe hym yt
shold be for no good/ he cryed owte as
lowd as he could agayn/ hogni ainto e
bono/ all is good that helpeth. ¶ And
soo I wene wolde I quod he call on

the deuyl and all rather than abyde
in payne. ¶ Nay quod I what so euer
ye say I can not thike ye wold byleue
in the deuyl as that Lumbard dyde.
ye wolde rather face lyke a nother/
that when the fyre appolyd hym in
confessyon whether he medlyd any thi
ge wyth wytcheecrafte or nectroman
cy/ or had any bylese in the deuyl/ he
answered hym/ Credere enle dyable
my syz no/ Jo graud sayge a credere i
dio/ Wyleue in the deuyl quod he/ nay
nay syz I haue worke ynough to by
leue in god I. And so wolde I wene þ
ye were far from all byleuyng in the
deuyl/ ye haue worke ynough to by
leue in god. ye haue so mych worke to
byleue in hym selfe/ that ye be loth me
thynke to mydle mych w hys sayne.
¶ When he had laughed a whyle at our
mery tales/ In good sayth quod I as
I was about to tell you/ som what in
dede yt is that ye say. For euyl yt is/
and euyl yt is sufferyd þ superstitious
maner of worshyp. And as for that ye
tolde of saynt Martyn yf yt be true/ it
hath non excuse/ but that yt nothyng
to doth our mater. For yt is not of
worshyppeinge but dyspytynge and
dysworshyppeinge of sayntys. To
chynge the offrynge of brede and ale
to saynt Germyn/ I se nothyng myche
myse therin/ where ye haue seene yt
bled I ca not tell. But I haue my selfe
seene often tymys/ and yet am I not
remembred þ euer I saw preste or clerke
fare þ better therfore/ or onys dyspne
therof/ but yt is geuen to chyliden or
pooze folke to pray for the syh chylde.
And I wold wene yt were none offere
in suche falschypone/ to offere by an hole
ore & dyspybute yt among poze people.
But now as for our mery maters of
Saryt

The seconde booke.

in the gallery because the place is in haste
 ce we shall leue the matter to the bnyuer
 re of the dayes to defend. And we wyl
 com home here to the wyles and put one en
 sample of both. The first is to say the supstyp^o
 maner a vnlesfull petytyon / yf womē
 there offe opeynto saint wylgefozt /
 in trust the shall bnyuer the of their
 husband. petytyon neyther the petytyon petyue
 rill they fynd yf there the folysch wo
 mē bypnyng opeynto theder / nor yf is not
 think so ofte done nor so mych brought
 at onis / the thepnyng may make moche mo
 ny of yf aboue the fyndig of the chanos
 wyles. ¶ May the all the opeynto of an ho
 le petytyon offe pnyng wyl not fynd. iii. gees
 wa gader a weke to geder. ¶ Well the
 the petytyon mayntayn not the matter for
 eny gret couetyse / also what the petytyon
 womē pray they can not here. How be yf
 yf they pray but to be vncobzed me se
 meth no gret harme / nor vnlesfulnesse
 therin. For that may they be ino wayes
 then one. They may be vncobzed yf
 they have bades change they coberous
 cobdions. Or yf the self padneture chaū
 ge they coberous cogues / whych is hap
 pely the cause of all they cobraūce. And
 finally yf they can not be vncobzed but
 by deth / yet yf may be by they own
 so their husband lauf ynough. ¶ May
 nay the yf fynde the not such folys the
 warrat you. They make their couenaū
 t in they bytter prayers as surely as
 they were pnynd the wyl not cast away
 they opeynto for nought. ¶ Well the to
 all these matters is one eydyt ealy an
 swer the thepnyng touch the effect of our
 matter / whych stādeth in this whether
 the thing the we speke of as prayng to sayn
 the / goyng in pnyng image / the wozshy
 pnyng reliques the ymagys may be done
 wel / Not whether it mai be done euyl.
 For yf it may be well done / the though

many wolde myluse yf / yet dooth all
 the nothig mynysch the goodnes of the thing
 self. For yf we shold for the myluse of a
 good thing the for the euylles the grow som
 tyme in the abuse therof / not amend the
 misluse / but vntly put the hole vntaway
 we shold the make meruelous chaūges
 in the world. In som cōtrees they go on
 hūtig comonly on good fryday in the mo
 nyng for a comō custome. Wyl the bye
 ke the euyl custome or cast away good
 fryday. There be cathedrall chyrches
 in to which the cōttee cometh to pnyng
 at whetsonyde / the the womē folowing the
 crosse the many an vntwomāly longe
 the the such honest wyues as out of the pro
 cessio the could not hyre to speke one such
 foule rybaudyng wozde as they there
 sing for godd sake hole rebauo logg
 as loud as their throte can cry. wyl the
 mēd the lewde maner or put away whet
 sonyde / the speke of lewdnes vnted at
 pnyng image. Is there row the none be
 sed on holy dayes. And why do you not
 the aduise us to put the elene away so
 dayes the all. Some wax dōk in lēt of
 wozd the craknels / the yet the wold not
 trust the lent were fordone. Crystmas the
 we consyder how comonly men abuse
 the / we maye thynke that they take the
 for a tyme of lybertye for all maner of
 lewdnes. And yet is not Crystmas to
 be cast away amonge crysten men / but
 men rather monysch to amend they
 maners / the the the selfe in Crystmas
 more crystenly. So me to Crystys own
 comyng and geuyng us our sayth the his
 holy gospell and sacramētyes. Be there
 not. the the wozle therfore agaynst one the
 better. Be not al the paynis / all the ierwes
 all the tūch / all the sacras / all the herety
 k the all the euyl lyuyng peple in crystēdō the
 wozle by they owne fault for the comig
 of Cryst. I trow they be. And yet wold
 no wozle

no tolse mā wylsh þ Cryst had not comē
here. For yt had be no right þ god shol
de haue left þ occasiō of meryt & rewar
de þ good folke wold w his helpe deser
ue by hys compynge/for þ harme þ wye
ches wold take therof by theyr owne
flouthe & malice. For i lyke wylsh right
were yt none þ al wylsh of saynt &
reuerēce of holy relikes & honoure of
saynt ymag by whych good deuoute
folke do mych meryte/we sholde abo
lysh & put away bycause som folk do a
buse it. Now touchig þ euyl petyciōs/
though they þ aske thē were as I trust
they be not a grete people/they be not
pet so many þ aske euyl petyciōs of sai
tys/as there be þ aske þ same of god hi
self. For what so euer they wyl aske of
any good sait/they wyl aske of god al
so. And comely i þ wylsh petyciōs i wa
lys to as mē say when they go forth in
robbyng/they blyse thē & pray god sed
them good spede þ they may mete w a
good purse & do harm & take nōe. Shal
we therfore fynd a faulte w euery mā.
nys praye bycause they pray for spe
de in robbery. Thys hath as I say no
reasō all though they were a grete peo
ple þ abulyd a good thyng. And where
as þ worst þ ye asygne in our mater is
þ as ye say þ people do ydolatre/in þ
ye say they take þ ymag for þ sait self
or þ rood for Cryst hym self/whych as
I sayd I thynke none doth (for some
rood hath no crucyfe therō & they by
leue not þ the crosse whych they se was
euer at Iherusalē/noz þ yt was þ holy
crosse yt self & moch lesse thiike they thē
þ þ ymage þ hāgeth theron ys þ body
of Cryst hym self) and all though som
were so made so to thynk/pet were yt
not as ye call yt þ people. For a fewe
dotyng dames make not þ peple. And
ouer thys pf it were as ye wold haue it

seeme an hole people in dede/pet were
not a good thyng to be put away for
the mysuse of badde felke.

The. xii. chappter.

The authoz cōfesseth the trouth
of our saythe and blage in the wor
shipp of ymagys/by the consent of þ
olde holy doctours of the chyrch ap
prouyng the same/as appereth well
in theyr wrytyngys/whō god hath
by many myracles testyfyed to be
saynt. The messenger efelone dou
teth whychet we can be sure that þ
myracles tolde by them were trewe
or not/or them selfe sayntys or not.
Wherbypon the authoz proueth þ
of eny myracles tolde be eny saynt/
we may be most sure of theyr/and
cōsequently by theyr myracles moost
sure of thē þ they be surely sayntys.
And in this chappter also proueth þ
þ myracles & cōfēt of those holy doc
tours do pue/þ thys muste ned be þ
bery true chyrch in which they haue
wryten & myracles haue ben done.
Wherbyd is fynally cōcluded efelone
nys þ trouth of þ pzyccall questyōs/
& therw fynyllyth þ secōde boke.

And we be very sure þ þ thing is
good & our way good therin/ &
out byleue therin right/not only by re
sōs & authoryte by which I haue pured
it pou more thē onys all reby/ but also
by þ all þ old holy saynt & doctours of
Cryst chyrch as sait Iherom/saynt Au
gustyn/saynt Basyle/saynt Chylosste
me/saynt Gregoey/whal such other as
playnly we rede in theyr bokis/dydas
we dotherin & byleued therof as we
byleue. And syth we se what they byle
ued/we nede not to doubt what is best
þ we byleue. For if eny secte byleued
better thē other/we be sure of the best
wer they/þ so wel byleued & lyued ther
wryth

The seconde booke.

xpxh/that god hath accepted them for
 sayntys/and by myracles openly decla-
 red that they sayth and lypunge ly-
 ked hym. where as on the tother syde
 of such as byleued other wyse/as were
 these manyfold sectys of obdurate he-
 retyques/we se not one a saynt among
 them/nor one myracle shewed for the.
 ¶ I wote nere quod he whether thys
 reason that ye make wolde surely sa-
 tyfys the tother syde or no. For men may
 peradventure answer you that there
 is many a glozyous saynt in heuen of
 whom we se no myracles in erth/nor
 happely neuer herde of theyre name.
 ¶ That may well be quod I/ & I sup-
 pose ye very true. ¶ Maye ye not also
 be quod he that though ye were harde
 to thynke/ but that of myracles some
 amonge so many must nedys be true/
 yet syth some also may be sayned/may
 ye not be that those be sayned whych
 be tolde to haue be done by them who
 ye reherced them I mene that of olde
 haue wyrt for your parte/I mene tho-
 se whome ye call the olde doctours of
 the chyrche/and whom the chyrche ca-
 leth for sayntys. ¶ Thys quod I were
 wozle then any thyng that we spake
 of yet to fore. The wozst was before/
 that we sholde pray to no sayntys. And
 now ye wolde eyther that we shold ha-
 ue none/or at the leste that we shold
 knowe none. ¶ Yes quod he ye may ha-
 ue sayntys and knowe for sayntys also
 many one syth the apostles time/though
 those be none whose wyrtynge ye wold
 authoryse by theyr sactysfeng. ¶ The
 fall you quod I to that poynt agayn/
 that ye thynke ye may be that the chyrche
 may take for sayntys and wozshyp as
 sayntys them that ben none. ¶ Sure-
 ly quod he the profe that ye haue layde

into the contrary though ye be some-
 what probable/ yet semeth me not very
 stronge nor able & suffycent to strayne
 a man to consent thereto. For though the
 assistance of god and hys holy spyrte
 wyll not suffer hys hole chyrche to ag-
 gre & consent to gyde in any dampna-
 ble errour/ yet may he suffer them well
 to erre in the knolege and wozshyp of
 a saynt/and mystake for a saynt on the
 wozle a dāpned wyche. For theri were
 no more daūget to manny's soule/nor
 nomore honour taken frome god/then
 when the people do wozshyp an hoste
 unconsecrate/mystakynge ye through the
 default of an euill pzeest for the sactred
 body of our lord hym self. And this ye
 dowbte not but ye is somtyme done.
 ¶ Forget not now by the way quod I
 that ye styll agree that god wyll not
 suffice hys hole chyrche to agree in any
 dampnable erroure and fall in a false
 saythe. And therwyt remembre that
 though ye were no dampnable erroure
 to take one for a saynt the were none/or
 a bone for a relyque that were none/
 yet were ye a dāpnable errour to woz-
 shyp any ye we sholde wozshyp none
 at all. And therfore syth the chyrche by-
 leueth that we sholde wozshyp them/
 that kynde of byleue cā be none errour/
 but must nedys be trewe. For the kynde
 of wozshyp can be none ydolatry/ but
 must nedys be good and acceptable to
 god. And so our pynce pall mater stan-
 dyng styll sure & fast/ende shall som-
 what se forther wherto your wozdys
 wyll way and amounce. ye denye not
 quod I but there be som sayntys & som
 myracles. ¶ No quod he. ¶ To what
 purpose quod I were myracles speccial-
 ly wrought by god/ was ye not to the
 entent to make hys messengers knowe
 and

and the trowth of his message. As whē he sent Moyses to Pharaon were not þe myracles done by god to make Pharaon to perceyue therby the trowth of his word. ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ Whē Crist quod I sente hys dysciples to preche þe power that he gave them to do myracles was yt not for the pfofe of þe doctryne that they taught as is well wyrtellessed in the gospel. ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ If thys be thus quod I as in dede yt is / ye haue moost cause to byleue of all myracles / those that arne tolde and reported as done for the doctours of Cristys chyche / for the myracles were specially deuysed by god for a knowlege of his trewe messengers and a pfofe of theyr message. So that where ye wold we sholde not utterly be deceyued in sayngs & myracles / but yet we myght be deceyued in doctours whom we take for sayngs and in theyr myracles / now yt semeth on the tother syde that of all other we be of the and of theyres moost sure. ¶ Thys is well sayd quod he. but yet alway yt renneth in mennys myndes that myracles may be fayned. ¶ Be yt so quod I / so that yt conne agayn in mennys myndys that all be not fayned. And then yt ye thynke eny trewe / thys reason abydeth styll / that syth myracles were specially gyue by god for the knowlege of hys doctours and declaracion of hys doctryne / those myracles be specially to be take for trewe that be reposed to be done by his doctours. For they serue for the comprobacion of hys holy doctryne. And for bycause ye say that myracles may be fayned / that we spake of Moyses & Cristys dysciples putteth me now in mynde. There were of elde tyme also fals doctours and myracles falsly

fayned / were there not. ¶ Yes many quod he. ¶ By whom were those myracles faynd quod I. ¶ Mary quod he. some by men as there be now and som by the deuyl / and happely so there be now to. ¶ Wel be yt q I bothe twayn and ye wyl. But were there not in þe old tyme both twayne founde out and baynquesshed by the true doctours lē by god and trewe myracles for theym wrought by god. As when the serpens of Moyses deuoured all the serpents made by the wyrtchecraft of þe Egyptis ioglers. And when þe prophete Daniel dyd by the sheppys of þe false prest fete fynde out the mean wherby the meate was eaten that they saynd to be eat by þe ydoll Bell. And whē the prophete Helyas baynquesshed by myracle the false prophet of Baal. And the holy appostles and dysciples of Crist dede at theyr word all to breke in pecys the false ydols in syght of þe Daynym people. So that alwaye god hath preparyd hys trewe doctours / to dystroie by playne myracle the fals myracles / wherby men were and myght be deceyued. Is not thys thus quod I. ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ Well then quod I yt your olde holy doctours were fals / & theyre doctryne vntrue / & theyr myracles fayned / yt is not ynough now to saye so. But yt eny of them that so say be sent by god to reprove it / the must they pue yt they be sent so. And yt not in wordys only / but let som of the come forth / & at theyr word breke our ymag / as Crist doctours dyd þe Daynims. & to pue our myracles fayned / let do som bety miracles the self. ¶ As for myracles q he be none actyale in any many crede. And ther is not so siple a sect of heretiques / but they might if they were let the on

long

The seconde booke.

some matche you to myacles / wherof
they might sayn syrene is a fozenone.
And then as we sayd now yt wold be
thoughte y thought some were bittre /
yet all were not lyes. ¶ It were ethe
in dede q y men were mad among
whom they shold repute the / & wolde
nothyngs do for the trespall. ¶ I wys
yet yf they dyde quod he / yet myght a
few wean wytted men deuple & fayne
a thyng of such a falshe / that yt wold
be beleued & hard to tye y trowth out.
¶ Let yt be loquod y. But yet wolde
it not lög hold among good cristen peple.
But god wold eyther bynyng y falsched
to lyght / or sone cast yt out of credete.
What labour toke Whyllostratus to ma
ke a boke full of lyes / wherby he wold
haue had Appollonius Thians in my
acles matche vnto Crist. And whē he
had al done / he neuer founde one olde
wyse so fōd to beleue hym. But I pray
you tell me q y be ther not of heresies
many sects. ¶ Yes q he. ¶ Is there q
I eny mo bety chryches of Crist then
one. ¶ No mo q he. ¶ Is not y yt q y
y is true. ¶ Yes q he. ¶ Be not q y the
all the sectys of heresy fals. ¶ Yes
quod he. ¶ Whos lykly q y to fayne
and lye / that compassy that ys y trowe
partte of some of the that be fals. ¶ Yt
ys quod he moze lykly that they shulde
all lye that be fals / than that cōpany
y ys the trowpartte. ¶ Than fals and
fayned myacles quod y / be they lyes
or not. ¶ What ellys q he. ¶ The q y
by your agrement yt semeth y they were
moche moze lykly to be amonge euery
sect of heresy quē i y chrych. ¶ So
semeth it q he. ¶ How happeneth the q
y if myacles be fayned wate / among
all y fals sect of heresy / where such
fals shold be by all reaso most tye

is none at al spokē of / but myacles
told only in y chrych of Crist / wherby
is only as ye agre y true yte. ¶ There
be q he paducture sū done eyther mya
cles or metueyll / but they dare not spe
ke of the for fere of psecutio. ¶ Yf they
were q y fals metueyll only done by y
deuyl / yt wold be not help your mater.
For the must you graue bety myacles
of god only done in Crist chrych. And
yf there had ben bety myacles of god
dōe for any sect wch we call heresy /
y sect had be no secte of heresy / but y
bety chrych. ¶ Ellys had god by mya
cles restyfyed y trowth of a fals sayth /
& y is ipossyble. And therof shold haue
folowed / ycepte there were of Crist
two chryches of two contrary saythes /
& both true which were ipossyble / ellys
not som / but al y myacles done / told /
wytted in one chrych / had be eyther
fayned or done by y deuyl / wherby shol
de it folow y our chrych were not y be
ty chrych / but a fals sect of heresy quē
wherby were as y haue all redy proued
you byuers wyse / as sacre ipossyble.
But now for y moze clerenes of our yte
there i / & for y forther proue that our
is y true chrych / & only the doctours &
the doctryne of our chrych appoyned by
myacles / neuer hath there be any don
for y doctours of any sectys of heresy
ques. For yf there hath eny true mya
cles be done by god / & the y secte not a
fals sette but y true chrych / all y psecu
cyon y could haue ben / could neuer ha
ue quenched the fame therof / as well
appereth by the myacles done in our
chryche / in all suche tyme as bothe the
Jewes and the Paynims pursued yt.
Now lythe there be so many fals sect
& but one chrych true / & myacles not
spokē of in eny but in one / yt is a good
token

token that the matter and substaunce of them ys trewe. For els they were as lykely to be spoken of in mo/tych of the false and lyeng sectys be so many. And the also myracles beyng trewe & beyng done but in one of all those many companies/ eche calling him self p church/ yt ys a good profe that the same one in whych onely they be done/ is onely the very trewe churche of Cryste to whych hys holy spyrte & maruelouse maieste geueth hys sperryll assystēce. And sure ly of all myracles that euer god hath wrought for hys chyrche/ I se not in my mynde lyghly a more meruaylous/ the that as many sectys of heretyques as hath sprongē and parted out of Cryste chyrche/ and eche of them laboryng to be taken for the very chyrche/ yet hath out lordē hether to neuer suffered neyther the deuyl to do any wonder for theym that myght haue the colour and face of a myracle/ nor as false as they be theym selfe/ yet hath he not sufferyd the hether to not so moch to do as sayn a myracle for theyr parte. Whych is to my mynde not onely grete wonder/ but also theyr confessed falshe dede consydered/ a very clere profe y they coulde neuer haue ben kept from yt but by the especyall prouidence of god and hys tender cure vppon hys chosen chyrche/ whych yt hath lyked hym hether to/ that myracles amonge other thyngys haue ben one good and sure marke betwene hys chyrche and all those erroneous sectys that ben sprongen owte herof/ and be not hys chyrche but wold seme to be. For as for Daynymis/ turkys and saracyns/ whiche by open profession arne of a nother flokke/ and bere not the name of Cryste nor looke for hym/ he suffreth the deuyl some ty

me to delude w wonders and meruayls. But y Jewes that styll gape after hym/ theyr myracles as farre as I ca here be gone/ to the entent they maye know y he hath lefte the and geue the by/ whych was wont to worke all those wonders for them. Now as for heretyques whych falsly sayne them self to be hys owne flokke/ and presume to bere and professe hys name/ he kepeth the from the honoure of eny myracles doyng/ to thende that the lacke thereof amonge all theyr sectys/ and the doyng therof in hys onely chyrche/ may be amonge many other thyngys one good marke and sure tokē/ where by all the false sectys of theym maye be dyscerned and knowne frome hys very true chyrche/ that is to say from y hole congregacyon of true crysten people in this world/ whych without intermyctyon of obstynate heresyces/ professē y ryght catholyque fayth. ¶ Now is yt not onely true that myracles be wrought onely in the chyrche/ & therby do shewe whiche is the very chyrche/ but also they do shewe that those holy doctours for whō god hath shewed the/ were good mē and of the right bylyef. For yf yt were as ye wold of late haue had yt seme/ that yt myght peraduenture be so y y holy doctours of our fayth whō we take for sayntys/ were in dede no sayntys nor sayd soules/ but happely those were saued soules & saynt in heuyn though yt were vnknewe here in erthe/ whych by de teche the doctryne here that we now call heresyces/ then were yt a woderous chaung that wher as god amonge the Jewes prouided y in euery age there were som god men by theyr good lyuig & his hygh myracles so notable & wel knowe to y people/ that

The seconde booke.

that men had the alwaye lyke bryght
sparkly starres / whose doctryne they
might boldly bylene / & whose lpyng
they might surely folow / he wold now
in his specyall chyrch of Cryst / not one
ly do nothyng lyke / but also do cleue y
contrary. For yf he shold take y waye
that ye saye / to leue euer synners thap-
postles dayes / all the trewe interpre-
tours of hys and theyr holy wytyng
and doctours of the very trewe saythe
lye to the world vnknowe / & the on y
tother syde set forth wth myracles oz
suffer so to be set forth wth meruayles / y
his chyrch shold take & accept for saith
such euyl psons oz ppoctyt as costred
y scripture wzonge / & euer synne hys
apostles dayes haue taught fals errors /
& led his flock out of y ryght waye in a
bye pathe to hell warde w wycked be-
telyses & ydolatre / then hath not god
sent the holy goost / and hym self also
saryed still therin / to teche hys chyrch
y trouthe as he said he wold. But he had
the holpe to begyle the hym self / which
wer i possible for god to do / & moze tha
blasphamy for any ma to thynke. For
thys were not lyke y sufferaunce of an
vnseerat host / whetof ye put y sample /
wherin the peoples inuynceble igno-
rance wth theyr deuout affectyō may
wout harme to theyr soules be suffe-
ryd in the thyng that seldom happeth
and endureth for so short a whyle. But
yf god wolde leue all good doctours
vnknowe / and suffer hys chyrch to be
deceyued wth myracles and meruayls
done by theym that taught herelyses &
set for the ydolatre / then sholde hym
selfe as I saye not onely suffer hys ho-
nour and ryght sayth and relygion to
be perpetually lost / but helpe also hym
self to destroy yt. wherby who so could

thynke possible / were woorse then Ju-
das / and moze madde then eny man in
bedlem. And therfore can yt not in no
wyse be / that the chyrch can be decey-
ued in that they take for sayntys these
holy doctours of y chyrch. For they so
beyng / can yt in any wyse be that the
doctryne wherin they consent and agre
can be false oz vntreue. Amonge which
doctryne syth the thyngys whetof we
speke / I mene the prayng to sayntys /
the worshepp of ymagys / reuerencyng
of relyques / and gopng in pylgryma-
gys is a parte as by theyr bokys playn-
ly doth appere / we may well and sure-
ly cōclude / that none of these thyngys
be dampnable oz dyspleasaunt to god /
but thyngys hyghly to hys contenta-
cyon and pleasure. And syth we fur-
ther perceyue that theyr bokys be wy-
ten in dyuers regyons and sondry a-
gys / we thereby well perceyue that
these thyngys be partell of the rytes
blasgys and bylene of Crystys chyrch /
not onely now and of late / but conty-
nually from the begynnyng hether to.
And syth yt is playnly prouyd you that
the churche can in no wyse be suffred of
god to fall into any dampnable errour
therby / yt is yet most surely cōcludyd /
that these thyngys be none such. And
consequently prouyd / that no texte of
scripture semynge to lowne to the con-
trary / canne be so taken oz vnderstan-
den. For that the chyrch ca not in pre-
iudyc of the saythe myse vnderstand
the scripture. And that the substācyall
poyntys of the saythe therfore lettyd
of the chyrch / is one of the surest rules
that can be founden for the ryght in-
terpretacyon of holpe scripture. And
that no secte of heretyques can bee the
church of Cryste / but that our churche
ys the

ys þe very chyrch. And yt is also clerely
 proued þe mater of myracles therin
 dayly done/ is neyther feyned by men
 nor done by the deuill/ but onely by þe
 myghty hand of god. And suche obiec-
 cyons as ye layde vnto the contrary of
 eny poynt aforesayde/ be as farre as I
 can se suffyciently answered/ excepte þe
 ye haue eny fozther objection to laye
 therin. whiche yf ye haue ye gette no
 thanke to spare. ¶ Wherunto he sayd &
 swore therewith that he so fully felte
 hym self answered and cōfessed therin/
 that he thought hym selfe able therin
 to content and satisfye eny man/ that
 he shold happen to mete with/ þe wold
 holde the contrary. whervppon for þe
 day we departed tyl a nother tyme/ in
 whiche we appoynted to perble the re-
 manaunt of the thyngys that he had
 in the begynnyng purposed.

¶ The ende of the seconde
 boke

The thyrde boke.

The fyrst chapyter.

The messenger haupng in y meane whyle ben at the vnyuersyte/ she weth vnto the authoz an obieccyon whych he lernyd there/ agaynst one poynt proued in the fyrst boke/ that is to wyt that in y necessary poynt of the fayth/ egall credence is to be gruen to the chyrch and to the scripture. Whych obieccyon the authoz answereth and dysolueth.



About fortyenight after your frend came agayn in a moznig newe comen from y vnyuersyte/ where he was as ye wote at lernyng ere he ca at you. And there hadde he now as he sayd bysytte som of his olde acquayntaunce. And vppon occasyon tpyng in comunycacyon/ had agayne repeted wyth some of them very freshe lerned men/ good parte of our forsmare dysceptacyon & reasonyng/ had bytwene vs befoze his departyng. Whychas he sayd they toke grete pleasure in/ and mych wysshed to haue be present there at. But surely he sayd that some of the semed to take very soze to hart/ y hard handelyng of y man that ye wypte of/ and the burnyng of the new testamēt/ and the forbedyng of Luthers bokys to be redde/ whych were as som of the thought/ not all thyng so bad as they were made for. And fynally touchyng

the burnyng of heretyques/ there were some that thought the clergye therein far out of ryght ordre of charyte. I am y very glad y it hath ben your happe to be there. Not so moch for eny thyng that ye haue shewed the of our comunycacyō had all redy concernyng the prayng of sayntys/ wooshyppng of ymages and relyques/ and goyng in pylgrymage/ wherin I thynke ye told them no newelte/ for I doute not but they coulde haue tolde you moze of that maters them selfe than ye haue herd or coulde here of me/ as for that I thynke that amonge them beynge as ye say so well lerned/ ye haue eyther herd somwhat wherby ye be in some parte of these maters that we shall speke of all redy satysfied/ wherby our busynesse shal may be the shorter/ or ell ye be the moze strongly instructed for the tother parte/ wherby our dysputacyon shal be the fuller/ and the maters the moze plaignly towched/ for y moze ample satysfaccyō of such as your selfe or your mayster shall hereafter happe to fynde in eny dowt of these thyngys that we shall now toweche and treate of. In dede quod he somwhat haue they shewed me theyr myndys therein/ as in some parte of the maters ye shal here whan we happe to come to them. That shall I gladly here quod I/ and shapen you such answer as my poze wytte wyll serue me. But yet I praye you be playne wyth me in one thyng. Were they satysfayed and helde them self cōtent in those thyngys that were at last wyth myche worke agreed bytwene vs. In good faythe quod he to say the trouthe/ all were saue one/ & he in all thyng saue one. And to your grete prayse and bygh comendacyon/

they sayd that in these maters. ¶ Nay
 q I let they prayse passe lest ye make
 me to proude. But I pray you tell me/
 not whych one mylyked one thyng/
 but what one thyng yt was / and why
 he mylyked ye. ¶ Surely quod he for
 ought that I could bende vppon hym/
 he coude neuer agree that the sayth of
 the chyrch out of scripture / shold be as
 sure and bynde vs to þ hylese therof/
 as þ wordys of holy scripture. ¶ Why
 quod I yf ye remēbred well what we
 sayde / ye had ynough to proue hym þ.
 ¶ Trowth is yt quod he so had I and so
 dyde I / and in suche wyse that dyuers
 wayes I brought hym to the bay / þ
 he wylt not how to voyde. But than
 sayde he to me þ he wolde not do wyth
 me as I had done wyth you. For yt
 was he sayd no wylde for a mā agāst
 hys aduersarye to ble alwaye the buc-
 kler hand. For so must all the parrell be
 his / & hys aduersarye stād i surety. Put
 on the tother syde yf he ble the swoorde
 therwyth and stryke amonge / and dy-
 ue þ tother to hys defēce / so may he hap
 to put hym in half the parrell. And lyke
 wyse he sayd that yf I proued my pte
 so clerely to hym that he could not say
 nay / yet yf I wolde agayne answer
 hym another whyle / he myght perad-
 uenture byynge me to the same poynt
 on the tother syde / and than shold the
 mater stande yet at large. For of two
 contraries yf bothe the parties be pro-
 ued / than stande they bothe vnproued.
 And therfore quod he I praye you an-
 swer me this a lytle. Whan you byleue
 the chyrch / wherfore do you bylyue the
 chyrch / do you not byleue yt bycause yt
 sayth trouthe / yes mary q I what
 eylls. And how know you quod he þ
 the chyrch sayth trouthe / know ye that

eny other wyse than by scripture?
 Nay mary q I. But than by playne
 scripture I knowe yt very well. For þ
 scripture telleth me that god hath ful-
 ly taught and techeth hys chyrch and
 byddeth me byleue hys chyrche. Lo
 q he for all our longe processe se tohere
 to ye be brought now. ye wold in eny
 wyse before / & ye seemed to proue yt to
 (all þ whyle þ ye argued & I answe-
 red) that the chyrch was in all necessa-
 ry poyntys of our sayth / as mych to be
 byleued as the scripture / and that we
 sholde not haue byleued the scripture
 but for the authoryte of the chyrch / as
 ye say saynt Austeyn sayth. And now
 whan I argue and ye answer / I haue
 dreue you to the wall in thye wordys /
 & purd vnto you þ the chyrch is not to
 be byleued / nor that your self byleueth
 yt not but for the authoryte of the scrip-
 ture. And after that he had th^o sayd /
 þ remanaūt þ were present allowed it
 mych / & I was ther w^o astonyed & sayd
 I wold aduyle me ferther thereon. But
 he laughed and sayd he wold lend me
 thys and not to be hasty on me / for he
 wold grue me respyte of payment tyll
 I had spokē with you agayne. ¶ Whā
 your frende had tolde / forsoyth q I he
 delte with you lyke a courteys credy-
 tour. And syth he hath grue you so lōg
 daye / ye shall not nede I trust to dye
 in his dette. And to say the trouthe ye
 owe hym not myche. For ye maye bere
 hym hys owne agayne & tell hym hys
 money is nought. But I haue espyed
 yt is as he sayth a grete aduāitāge for
 hym to oppose. For he hath suche crafte
 in arguyng / that he wylt sone byynge
 the answerer to a peryllous poynt / yf
 he happen on one that wylt answer
 hym hanfomly as he wolde haue hym.

But

The thyrde boke.

But on the tother syde yf he had hap-
pened on one that had answered hym
as frowardly as the boy answered one
Caius a peote at Cambrige/ than had
he by hys opposynge parte/ wonne no
thyng at all. For Caius for hys plea-
sure playenge wyth the boye beyng a
ponge sophyster/ sayde that he wolde
proue the boy an asse. whych whan y
boy denyed/ well quod Cai? thou wylt
graunt me thys fyrst that euery thyng
y hath two erys is an asse. Nay mary
mayster wyl I not quod the boy. No
wylt thou quod Caius/ Ah wylly boy/
there thou wentest beyonde me. For
thou woldest haue graunted me that
I wolde haue pried the an asse anone.
Nary mayster q the boy so ye myght
well/ and so might euery fole do. well
quod Caius I wyl go nowe a nother
way to worke wyth the. Thou wylt
graunt me y euery asse hath two erys.
Nay mary wyl I not mayster quod y
boy. why so boy q he. Nary mayster
quod he for some asse may happe to ha-
ue neuer one/ for they may be cutte of
both. Nay quod Caius I gryn the ouer
for thou art to froward a boy for me.
And so yf ye had not graunted what he
wolde/ he had nothyng wonne at your
hand. why q your frende what thyng
dyd I graunte hym that I sholde not.
Forsoth quod I no more but al that
euer ye graunted. For fyrst whan he
asked you whyther y cause why we by-
leue the chyrch be not by cause it is true
that y chyrche telleth you/ though your
answere whyche ye made therein was
not the cause of your redargucion nor
the thyng wherby ye were cōcluded/
yet answered ye not well cherto whan
ye graunted yt. why quod he wherfore
shold I byleue the chyrche oz eng man

ellys but by cause they tell me trewe.
Some tyme q I yt happeth so/ but
sometyme yt happeth otherwyle. For yf
a knowen lyar tell you a knowen true
tale/ ye wyl byleue hym by cause he tel-
leth you trewth. But now yf a knowen
trew man tell you an vnknowen trowth
ye byleue not hym/ by cause the thyng
is trowth/ but ye byleue y thyng to be
trowth by cause ye byleue the man to be
true. And so byleue you y chyrch/ not by
cause it is trowth y y chyrch telleth you
but ye byleue the trowth of y thyng by
cause y chyrch telleth yt. But yet was
not y answeere of his as I say y thyng
that confounded you. For now yf ye shold
haue answered hym as I haue
shewed you/ though ye shold haue som-
what blenched hym therewith/ yet ye
myght a wold of lykelyhed haue gonuz
further wyth you/ and haue asked you
wherby ye knowe that ye shold byleue
the chyrch. And what answeere wolde
ye than haue made therunto. Nary q
he than myght I haue sayd that I by-
leue y chyrch/ by cause that in such ne-
cessary poyntys of sayth the chyrch can
not erre. That had be very wel sayd
quod I. But he wolde haue asked how
ye knowe that. Than must I quod he
haue sayde the same that I dyde/ that
I knowe yt by playne and euydene
scripture that the chyrch in such thyn-
gys can not saye but trewe. And than
wolde I haue layd hym the tertes that
ye alledged vnto me for the same pur-
posed before. yf ye so had sayd quod I
ye had answered hym truly but yet not
wyth your most aduantage. why so
q he. For quod I your next answeere
were to say as trowth is/ that ye byleue
that the chyrch in such thyng can not
erre/ by cause ye byleue that god hath
taught

taught and tolde þe same thyng to hys
chyrch. ¶ Chā wold he haue asked me
further quod your frende what thyng
maketh me to bileue þe god hath taught
þe tolde the chyrch those thyng. ¶ So
wold he haue asked you quod I and so
myght he wel. ¶ Chā were we comen
quod your frende vnto the same poynt
agayne that he shulde haue concluded
me as he dyd byfore. ¶ May I not
ye answered thereto well. ¶ Why I
he what coulde I answer ellys / but
clerely graunt hym þe I beleue þe thyng
for none other cause but only bycause þe
scriptur so sheweth me. ¶ No could ye
I what ye neuer scripture had ben
wryte in this world / shold there neuer
haue bene eny chyrch or congregacyon
of faythfull & ryght beleuyng people.
¶ That wote I nere I he. ¶ No do
ye quod I were there neuer eny folke
that beleued in god / & had a true fayth
betwene Adam and Noe / of suche as
neuer herd god speke them self. ¶ Yes
quod he I suppose ther were some / but
ye shold seme ther were very fewe. For
ther were few saued in Noes shyppe.
¶ The world was at þe tyme quod I
waren worse and worse as ye wareth
now. But ye is not vnlykely that ther
were many ryght beleuyng people in
the meane tyme. ¶ That is quod he
lykely ynough. ¶ Now as for þe dayes
quod I of Noe hym selfe / though ther
were few saued a lyue / yet proueth not
that / þe people to be all myscreant and
without fayth. For ye faced be them as
ye faced now by vs / that there were
many that beleued the trouthe and had
a fayth / but they folowed þe fleshe
and sank for theyr synne. For there
appeteth no further vpon the story in
genesis / but þe world was washed

wyth the water of the grete fode for
the fylthe of theyr flesshely lyuynge.
And all be ye that in the fyrste epytyle
of saynt Peter / ye myght seme some
incredulyte in them / yet may ye be
ye stretched no further than to þe lakke
of fere in the credence of goddys comyng.
nacyn / and ouer mych hope and bol-
denesse of goddys further sauour and
sufferaunce wherof they repented after
to late for this present lyfe / & yet many
throughe goddys mercy not to late for
the fynall saluacyon of theyr soules
(as appereth by the good & grete clerke
Nicolaus de lyra vpon þe same place)
whiche could in no wyse haue bene so
ye they had lakked fayth. Whiche fayth
what scripture had they to teche the /
or all the menne in effecte þe eny fayth
had frome Adam thitherto. Was ther
also no faythful folke at all from Noe
to Moyles / nor hym selfe neyther tyll
he had the lawe deliuered hym in wy-
tyng. Wyd Abraam neuer beleue more
but those thyng that we fynd in scrip-
ture specially to haue bene tolde hym
by god. Was hys father and all hys
freschys infydeles. Were ther no people
besyde in all that longe tyme that had
a ryght fayth. ¶ Yes quod your frende
þe I thynke verily there was. ¶ That
may ye quod I be sure there was. And
why dyd eny man thā beleue þe chyrche
that ys to wytte the nombze and con-
gregacyon of good & ryght beleuyng
folke / of whose mouth and tradycyon
he herde the true beleue / agaynst the
worange and myske beleue that was in
all the world amonge infydeles and
Idolaters bysye. Why dyd eny man
this / but bycause they beleued þe god
hath taught those thyng to good men
byfore / and that ye was and wolde be
aply

The thyrde booke.

Hyl the good lesson of god/and then
 what thyng made them to byleue that
 god had taught them so. It was not
 the scripture that made the beleue y/
 as ye wold that nothyng can tell vs
 that bylese but the scripture. I praye
 you tell me what scriptur hath taught
 the chyrch to know whyche bookys be
 the very scripture/ & to reiecte many
 other that were wyrtten of y same ma-
 ters and that in suche wyse wyrtten/ &
 in the namys of suche men as (saynge
 for y spirite of god geue to hys chyrch)
 a naturall wyse man had bene lykely
 ynough/ eyther to haue taken both for
 holy scriptur/ or to haue reiected both
 as none holy scripture. And surely in
 the receyte of the tone/ and reieccion
 of the tother/ there wolde haue ben at
 the lest waye suche dyuerse oppynyons y
 the hole chyrch had neuer taken all y
 tone soze and reiected all the tother/
 had not that holy spryte inspyred that
 consent/ qui facit vnanimis in domo/
 whyche makyth the chyrche all of one
 mynde and accorde. And therefore all
 be yt that agaynst them that no thyng
 wyll byleue but scripture/ we proue
 the authoryte of y chyrch by scripture/
 and in such wyse proue it them by scrip-
 ture/ that they shall be fayne eyther
 fether to graunte that they be bounden
 to byleue the chyrch in thyng not spe-
 cified in scripture/ & as fully as they
 byleue the scripture selfe/ or elles they
 shall deny the scripture & all/ yet shold
 we haue byleued the chyrche yf neuer
 scripture had ben wyrtten/ as those good
 faythfull folke dyd/ that byleued well
 byfore the scripture was wyrtten. And
 now the scripture selfe maketh vs not
 byleue the scripture/ but y chyrch ma-
 keth vs to know y scripture. And god

wythoute scripture hath taught hys
 chyrch y knowledge of hys very scrip-
 ture frome all counterfete scripture.
 For yt is not as I saye the scripture y
 maketh vs to byleue the worde of god
 wyrtten in y scripture (for a mā myght
 (as happely many doth) rede yt all to
 gyder and byleue therof neuer a wyrt)
 but yt is the spryte of god that wyth-
 out owne towardnesse and good ende-
 uour/ worketh in hys chyrch & in euery
 good membre therof the credulyte and
 bylyet/ wherby we byleue as well the
 chyrche concernynge goddys wordys
 taught vs by the chyrch & by god gra-
 ued in mennys hartys wythout scrip-
 ture/ as his holy wordys wyrtten in his
 holy scripture. And thus ye perceyue
 that where ye graunted hym that so
 dyde oppose you/ y we byleue y chyrch
 by none other way but by y scripture/
 there dyde ye not answere hym well.
 For we besyde the scripture do byleue y
 chyrch/ bycause that god hym selfe by
 secrete inspyracyō of hys holy spryte/
 doth (yf we be wylling to lerne) teche
 vs to byleue hys chyrche. And also yf
 we wyll walk wyth hym/ ledeth vs in
 to the bylyet therof/ by the selfe same
 meane by which he teareth vs & ledeth
 vs in to y bylyet of hys holy scripture.
 For lyke wyse as whā we here y scrip-
 ture or rede yt/ yf we be not rebel-
 lyous but endeuour our selfe to byleue/
 & captue & subdew our vnderstādyng
 to serue & folow fayth/ prayng for hys
 gracious ayd & help/ he than worketh
 wyth vs/ and inwardly doth inclyne
 our hart in to thassent of that we rede/
 and after a lytell sparke of our fayth/
 encreaseth the credence in our incredu-
 lyte/ so doth hys goodnes in lyke wyse
 inclyne and moue the mynde of euery
 lyke

lyke towache and lyke well wyllyng
body to the geuyng of fast and ferme
credence to the sayth that the chyrche
techeh hym in suche thyng as be not
in the scrpyture / and to blyue þ god
hath taughte hys chyrch those poyntys
by hys holy word without wytyng.
And now yf ye had answered hi thus
I blyue surely that ye had clerely dys
armed hym a broken hys gay sworde
in twayne. whych in my mynde I pro
myle you howe gayly so ever ye glyte
Jones eye for a hoysly / yet whosyght
therwyt shall fynd yt neyther sharpe
nor sure / yf yt fall on a good bukler &
not on a nakedman. By my trowth y
pour frende so semeth me now to. And
though þ byghthele bled myne eye
at þ tyme / yet I trust he shall wyne
no wo:shyppe therof whan we mete
agayne.

The .ii. chapyter.

Incedently somwhat is there
touched the superstitious fere and
scrupulosyte that the persone abur
red byd as yt is sayd bygynne with.
The werynes wherof draue hym
to the delyte of suche lybertye as
broughte hym to the contempte of þ
good deuout thyngys / bled comenly
in Crystes chyrch. And in this cha
pyter is somwhat touched þ good mea
ne maner bytwene scrupulouse sup
stycion / and techelesse neglygence /
that wolde be bled in the syngynge
oz saynge of dyuine scrupce.

But surely syz cōcernynge þ mā
nes aburacyon aburacyon þ
we spake of / they be meuelously phra
ded that he had mych w:onge. Not in
that the oppnyons were catholyque
whych were layed to hys charge (for
therin haue ye sayed ynough) but in þ

he was to:onge bozne in hand that he
had preched them / wher he byd not so.
And thus be they verpced byly enfor
med both by word and wytyng of
suchas wer plant therat. And therfor
longe I soze and wold be very glad / to
here how those maters were p:oued.
Now I a pi I for my pt very soze
so help me god to lese tyme therin as a
thyng in effecce frutelesse / saynge þ
yr may be peraduente a frutefull ex
ample that no man be lyght to blyue
such thyng herafter / as he shal happe
to here spoken agaynst the chyrch in þ
fauoure of any man condemned of
heresy / whyle he seeth as myche sayd
agaynst the iudgemente of this man /
wherin so to say they can haue no more
holde than yf they wolde say the crowe
were whyte. And in good sayth to say
the croath / there can not in my mynde
be a more mete exaple to matche theyz
w:ydys w:thall. For lykewyle as he
that wold say the crowe were whyte /
must yf he wyl be blyued go tell the
tale to a blynde man / and may percase
w:th hym be as wel blyued as one þ
wyl say the contrary / yll that he be
eyther by mō men oz men of more ho
nestie put after out of credence / so must
these folke that thus talke and w:pte
of hym / seke as they do in dede suche
heres as be blynde in the mater / and
knowe nothyng therof / whome they
perswade w:th false suggestyons to
conceyue an euill oppnyd of þ iudges /
to inclyne theyz hartys fyrst for p:tye
to the fauour of the man / and after to
the fauour of the maters that he was
aburced for. I haue my selfe sene a let
ter wyten out of London by a prest
reputed honeste / how be yt in dede as
I saw yt p:ud after a playne p:stlyte
heretyque.

The thyrde boke.

heretique. In whiche letter he wrote that the mannes nowe talke of dyd no more abiure eny heresye / than he had done hym selfe of the man y he wrote vnto. And yet was hys wyrtynge as false as god is trew. Wherewith he laboured couertly to make the man bylcue / that thoppnyngs were none heresydes. And that he whiche was pretended to haue abiured them had not so done in dede / but had well auowed them and styll abydenn by them. And thus do suche as are of that secte / set forth theyr maters woth lyes. & also is yt they so do. For syth theyr sectys be false / lyes be for them mooste mete. And yet is yt a madde thyng of them to booste of hym. For he forthwith forsoke them / and euer byfoze hys iudges he confessed from the begynnynge that the maters were playn false here / yes / and the holders therewith heretiques. saynge for hym selfe that he neuer preached them. And so had they no cause to be proude of hi / whiche in open audyence at yfyrst woode refused and condemned them. But they happely thynkyng that for all hys denyenge woth hys mouthe / he fauoured styll in dede the / and theyr heresydes in hys mynde / pardoned therfore those woordys whiche they thought spoken but of infympte for fete and saynt harte. And therfore wolde they be glad yet amonge men y knewe not the mater / to mayntayne and byholde hys aucthozpte agaynst a better tyme. And surely this y I shall tell you haue I harde reportyd / how be yt I wyll not warraunte it for trouthe. But yet haue I as I say hard yt reportyd / whiche credably / that the man we speke of whiche was abjurid / byd amonge some of that secte to say / Let vs

preche and set forth the out way. And yf we be accused / lett vs saye we sayd not so / and yet some of them shall we wynn alway the whyle. And albe yt I wyll not as I say warrant you that he thus sayd / yet I assure you to my minde his maner in hys mater before hys iudges was as consonant as could be to that intent and purpose. For surely the effect of hys defence was nothyng els / but agaynst a well and playnly prouid matter / an obstynate shameles naye. By my trouthe quod your frende I marwell me mych therof. For he was callid a good man and a very deuout. I wyll not saye. As I tolde you in y begynnynge go about to repaune hys luyng / syth y question standeth not but in hys teching. And yet maye I be holde w you to tell you what I haue hard. He was (as yt was sayd) after that he fell fro y study of the law (wheryn he was a pfect and partly well leyn) vnto the studye of scripture / he was as I say very ferefulle and scrupulouse / & began at y first to fall in to such a scrupulouse holynes / that he takenyd hym self bounden so straitly to kepe and obserue the woordys of Crist after the very letter / that because our lord byddeth vs whē we wyll pray enter into oute chamber and shute the doze to vs / he thought yt therfore synne to saye hys lecture abroad / and alway wold be sure to haue hys chamber doze shute vnto hym whyle he sayd hys matyns. Whiche thyng I in dede harde hym onys deny in an honorable presence. But I harde agayne a nother mā moze credible than thwayn of hym / and yf I had sayde than suche ten I thynk I lyed not / and one of hys beste prouyd frendys / auowe yt in hys face for trouthe. How be yt I tell you not

not this thyng for any grete harte
in the man. For yt was moze peyssh
and paynfull than euill and synfull.
But surely men say that in conclusyon
wyth the werynesse of that supersty-
cious fore and scruple dyede he fell as
force to the contrary. And vnder pre-
terite of loue and lyberte wared so
droke of þ new must of letud lyghtnes
of mynd and bayng gladnesse of harte/
wher he he toke for spirytual consola-
cyon that what so euer hym self lysted
to take for good that thought he forþ
wyth approued by god. And so framed
hym selfe a sayth framed hym selfe a
conkyence framed hym selfe a deuoc-
cyon wherin hym lyfte and wherin
hym lyked he sette hym selfe at lyber-
te. And yf yt so were quod youre
frende than ye se lo what cometh
of this sayenge of scrupce. ¶ Of
sayeng scrupce quod I this ys mych
lyke as at Beuerlay late whan myche
of the people beyng at a bere baytynge
the chyrche fell sodaynly down at en-
songe tyme and ouerwhelmed some þ
than were in yt a good felowe that
after herde the tale tolde lo quod he
now maye you see what yt ys to be at
euenlong whan ye shold be at the bere
baytynge. How be it the hurt was not
therin beyng at euenlong but in that
the chyrche was falsely wroughit. So
was in hym or eny man ellys none
harme but good in sayng of dypne scr-
upce but the occasyon of harme ys in þ
superstycious fastyon that they stoune
fol yorneth therunto as some thynke
they say yt not but yf they saye every
psalme twyse. In sayth your frende
thā yf I were as he I wold mombell
yt bp a pace or ellys saye none at all.
That were as euill quod I on the to-

ther syde. ¶ Here ys a meane may ser-
ue betwene both. ¶ We q he but wote
ye what the wyfe sayd þ complayned to
her gossep of her husbād frowardnes.
She sayde her husbāde was so way-
ward that he wold neuer be plesed. For
yf hys byede quod she be dowe baken
than is he angry. Mary no meruayle
q her gossep. Mary and wote ye what
gossep quod she. And yf I take yt all
to harde colys yet ys he not contente
neyther by saynt Jame. So quod her
gosseppe ye sholde bake yt in a meane.
In a meane quod she. Mary I can noe
happen on yt. And so in a praye of
maryns yf ys moche worke to happen
on the meane. And than to save theym
to shorþe ys lacke of deuocyon. And to
save theym to scrupously ys somwhat
superstycouse. And therfore the best
waye were in mynde to save none at
all. ¶ We q I but thā ys god as way-
ward an husbād as ye spake of þ wyl
neyther be content w hys byede byēnd
to col nor dough bakē neyther. ¶ By
our lady q he but he he cōtent or not I
wene he hath mych dowgh bakē byede
amonge. For the matens I tell you
be in some placys songen faster than
I can say thē. ¶ Peraduenture q I so
were it nede. For yf they shold sing ma-
tens no faster thā ye say thē they shold
I wene syng very few matens in a pe-
re. ¶ In sayth q he a som þ līg thē ma-
ke me to dout mych whether þ bees in
they hyues ble to say matens among
them. For euen such a nother buzzyng
they make. ¶ Surely q I þ ys as true
as yt is euill done. For as yt is a vyce
and some fawte to be in the scrupce
of god superstycouse in stede of rely-
gouse ouer dyedefull and scrupulous
in stede of deuote and delygent so
ys yt

The thyrde booke.

ys pte myche more fawte to be therein
rechelesse and neglyget. For accursed
is he as holy scripture sayth/ that doth
the worke of god neglygently. The
partell therof appereth by Euthicus þ
yonge scrplynge that is spoken of by
saynt Luke in thactes of thapostles.
who falling in slepe whyle þ apostles
þ dyscyples were occupped in redig/
prechig/ a prayer/ fell out of an hygh
wyndow downe vnto the ground/ and
there had dyed god wote in what case
yf the merytes of saynt poble had not
recoveryd hi. And now yf he be of god
accursed that neglygetly doth hys wor
ke/ how mych is he more accursed that
casteth hys worke away and leueth yt
quyte vndone/ suche worke I saye as
they be bounde to do. But in thys ma
ter we spende more tyme than nedeth.
For yt is not mych to our present pur
pose/ laupge that yf yt be trouth that
the man whome we talke of fell fyrst
in such superstycyon/ yt is the more ly
kely that the deuyl dyd cast hym there
in for nohe other intente/ but that he
might after for very weenesse therof/
bynge hym in to a contempte of all þ
thyngys that he was woren wery of/
as set hym in a delpte of lyberte. wher
by wyth lenyng to hys owne wyt/ he
myght tchen every thyng good or bad
as hym selfe wold accompte yt. whych
was the redy way to bynge hym to
thes here yes wherin he was now fal
len.

The.iii. chapter.

The authoz sheweth þ me ought
not to be lyght in mystakynge of
eny iudgement geuen in the court.
And that myche lesse/ ought eny mā
to be bolde in þ reponyng of a comē
lawe. And he sheweth also the cause

why that the latre admyt teth more
slepyht wotnesse in heyghnouse cap
myll causes/ than in slepyhter ma
ters of couenauntes or contractes.

Here we be now gone ouer þ style
or we come at yt. And be yet in questyō
whether yt were ryghnously iudged þ
that he was fallen in thym or not.
For I thynke yt no speme to doubt ther
of yet tyll I here how the mater was
proued. ¶ An dede quod I that ys as
ye say the mater wherof we fynde haue
to talke. And yet yf ye neuer herde fer
ther therein/ but that he was iudged
fawte/ all though ye had euer accō
pted the man in your owne mynde for
bery vertuose and of ryght bylyfse/
yet syth he can not be good except me
men thā he be naught/ whom ye ought
no more to mysdeme than hym/ and
specyally hys iudges whych are elect
and chosen for indyfferent/ and whych
wythout lykelyhode of lurre or losse be
sette to cōsider examyne and by theyr
iudgement ordre the cause of a nother
man/ whete as the parties maye reso
nably be more mystrusted theym selfe/
bothe the accuser whych maye speke
of malys/ and specyally the party
that is accused/ whych is well lykely
to lye for hys defence in a mater of pa
rell yf he were proued gyltre/ ye ther
fore ought not to mystruste the iudge
ment/ except ye knowe the mater vñ
truly iudged in dede/ or by very good
and substantycall folke that were pre
sente and indyfferent/ hadde playne
and lurre infozmayon thereof. ¶ Quod
he men thynke that yf any su
che infozmayon maye serue/ they haue
had ynough therof by men of wysdom
scruplyt and honeste/ both by mouth
and

and by tortyng that were present at all the handelyng of þe mater. ¶ Well quod I we shall lette theyr wysdom & theyr lernyng alone. But as for theyr honesty shall somewhat shewe yt selfe bypō the trowth or vntrowth of theyr report. Wherin fyrst I pray you could they saye þe was not couyrted by as many wytnesses & as good & as credyble as the law requyrez. ¶ So many q̄ he & such as þe law requyrez. wolde god q̄ he that we coud as easely fynd good men & true / as we maye fynde so many such. For the law doth as I here say requyre but wayne / & yet in cause of heresy careth not much how bad they be / not though they be heretyques the self. And is not this a wonderfule case þe where as in a mater of lytell money no law receyue any wytnesse but honeste & credyble / the lawe made by the chyrche / sholde in so grete a mater / so hyghly touchyng the vetter destruccyō of a man in body & goodis wyth a deth the most paynfull that can be deuyled / admytte and receyue a persone infamed / and gyue faythe and credence to an infydeill whome they haue proued and reproued fals in his fayth to god. ¶ For me thynketh the excuse but very slender þe I haue ere thys herde in thys poynt alledged for þe chyrche / that suche symple wytnesse are admytted in here / bycause the crime is so grete and so odious that therfore yt is worthy to be handled wyth the more rygour and the lesse fauour. And thys thyng wyll I well agre for good reaso in þe punyshment of the crime whan yt is proued. But for god not in hatred / and persecucion of the person ere the crime be proued. ¶ But now where as they receyue the wytnesse of so heyghe and false fe-

lowes for a p̄ofe / they purswe the person not the crime. where as me thynketh on þe tother syde / the more heyghe nouse / odious and abhomyable that the crime is / the more slow / shold we be to beleue yt / and the more sure and playn p̄ofe shold we haue ere we shold iudge any man for so euill to commyt yt. ¶ There is quod I no dowt / but þe the woꝛlde is so bad / that there be many so naughty / that they wyll be redy ynough to bere false wytnesse. And yet god forbide that yt were so bad as ye say / that a man myght soner fynde suche than good men and trewe. And also though the wytnesse were & wold lye / yet whan they be wysely and seuerally examyned / they cā seldom so wel make theyr tale befoze / but that theyr vntrowth shall in some parte appere. And fynally the law byndeth not the iudge so p̄cysely to the woꝛdys of the wytnes / but that yt leueth many thyngys to be pondered and wayed by hys wysdom. For yt ys in a iudge as yt is in a physycon / to whom there be many good bokys wyrtten / able to gyue good lyght and instructyon. And yet whoso wold so p̄cysely bynde hym to hys boke / that he shold nothyng vse þe dyscrecyō of his brayne / he shold somtyme do full euill seruyce. ¶ And yet is it as Aristotle saith wel done i dede to make the lawes so suffyrent / that as fewe thyngys as may / shall remayne and be left to the dyscrecyō of þe iudge / sythe that the comen lawes be constantly made by many moo than are the partyculer iudges / and also many suche as are as wyse as iudges. And ouer that the lawes be to the iudges a sure and substancial shelde / to defende and kepe the from þe hatred & obloquy þe

ellys

The thyrd boke.

ellys wolde folowe theyr sentence on the tone syde or the tother/were theyr iudgement neuer so iuste. For men be so percpall alway to theym selfe / that ourte harte euer thynketh the iudgement wzonge / that wzyngeth vs to the wzyle. For be it neuer so ryght / all reken we wzonge wherof we fele harme. ¶ But yet of all thynges specpally the lawe sholde beste content vs / for that yt is fetherest out of all cause of suspicyō. For wher as a iudge medlet wryth a mater present / & persons who be seeth & knoweth / wherby there may petras fauour / hatred / hope / or dred / pryte / cruelte / mede / request / or some other affectiō inclyne hym to mylordys hym self in the mater / & lawes alwaye be made for the punishment of thyng / only that are yet to come / & who shall fall in & parcell the makers can not tel. Happely theyr foos / happely theyr fof dys / (& as mēys maners be mutable) peraduenture theym selfe / for whych cause & makers of & law made by & peple in catolles criminal / can be but indifferent. And therfore I metwyle & moze / syth & faut ye fynde now is not in the iudges but in the lawes selfe. Wherin ye thynke yt euill proudded that for the hatred of an hepygnouse crime / & person peraduenture innocent shold fall in parcell of a paynfull dethe by the moze slepyght wytnesse thā wold be take for suffycent in a fatte slepyghter mater. Somewhat ye sayde in dede of the hatred of the crime were all & cause. But therein ye go far wyde. For & chref cause why that in hepygnouse crimynall causes / as theste / murder / treason / & herespe / the law taketh such for wytnesse as yt wyl not accept in a mates of money or other cōtract made

betwene two partyes / ys for that ell all such crimes shold passe forth unpunished / & therby shold & wold swarm full of such myscheuous peple for lacke of pzofo and tpyall in the mater / because that those whych go about suche an hepygnouse dede as cōmpng ones to knowledge wold bypunge theym to a shameful deth / do not ble comenly / to take a notary / and honest wytnesse w them to make an instrumēt therof / as many men do and all men may do in a contracte or cōuenant / but vse yt by stelth as couetly as they can. By reason wherof / reason moueth and necessity cōpelleth (except ye wold all haue all go to nought) to receyue suche recoz dys as they be wonte to make of theyr consayle / whych be as ye wote well none but suche as they be theym selfe. And yet sometyne whych maye seme moze straunge / we be contente and reason wold we so were / wryth & wytnesse of the partyes theym selfe. For yt that .x. thrys robbed foure men at onys in a wood / though all & good that they take away were / one comē puts of all foure / and wold all .x. whan they were taken well & styfly say nare / yet were I theyr iudge (syth all wytnesse seuerth / not only to induce a credēce or credulyte in the iuges mynde) I wold not let (except some other 'ezytūstance wrythode yt) to byleue the .iiii. complayntys in theyre owne mater agaynst all ten defendautys. And all be yt that petrales a iudge myght be in a contracte made bytwene two partyes enduced in hys owne mynde wrythout ony dowte to the contrary to gyue credēce i such a poynt to & tone yte agayst & tother for the well known trowth & honesty of & tone / & in & tother yte the contrary

contrary / yet doth the law thow the
world almost p[ro]phete hym to p[ro]ce-
de in a cruple cause / lest they sholde
byrge that fourme of iudgement in
custome / wherein for succre enlunge to
the party / were ocrasoun to corrupt the
iudge / and also for as myche as that
falkyon were in a crupill cawse cleue
about necessity / syth the parties maye
yf they lyst for the succre of the p[ar]-
tys have wyrtynge o[er] good wyrt-
nesse therat. whych yf they lyst not for
to do / eyther for folp / slouth / o[er] trust /
good reason is yf rather tourne the
selfe to losse / than for the redressyng of
the p[ar]-tys ouersyght / to byrge in place yf
fourme a fassheon of iudgement / that
may be yf cause of other mennys wyrt-
full trouble / where as in byrgynhouse
crupynall causes theyther is therat.
was such cause of corrupcyō / speccally
toward yf cōdemacyō byp[er] whych syde
only falleth yf fautes paryll yf ye speke
of / is also as ye se inenptable necessity
for lacke of possibylite of other re-
corde a wyrtnesse / tyll ye proude that
chenes & murderers wyll be cōtent to
take honest wyrtnesse wyth the yf maye
here wyrtnesse agaynst them.

The. iiii. chapyter.

The authoz sheweth byp[er] what
geounde and cause the man was cō-
uict. And also byuers other thyng
not than broughte in iudgement /
wherby yf may well appere that he
was gretely gyltye. And so he sheweth
incydently wherfore yf were
not reason in a deteccyon of heresy /
to suffer after the wyrtnessys publy-
shed / and the crime wel proued eny
now wyrtnessys to be receyved for yf
partys that is accused.

How be yt though this serue for
such maters in generall / yet for
this one mater that we now speke of /
we stande farre in a nother case. For
this man was not conuicted by the
wordys of one o[er] twayne / but by the
othes of one o[er] twayn aboue twentye /
not such men as we now speke of / lol-
lardys and heretyques / but honest mē
and almoost of all sortes / of relygious
folke / husband men / and gentyl men.
In dede quod he to say the trowth /
herd sayd there were many wyrtnesses.
But I herd agayn yf he offeryd to byr-
ge twyse as many / and that of suche
as were present as well as they / and
stode as nere as they / and vnderstode
as well as they / and slepte no more
at his p[re]chyng than a person doth at
his offeryng / and wold depose playnly
for hym. And wher he sayd so o[er] not
quod I / that can I not tell you / but
this I wote well. Hym self was well
lerned in yf law / & neuer could say yf he
was denyed eny fauour yf yf law wold
graūt. And many a wyrtnesse was ther
to whō he sayd none exceptiō / nor could
say the contrary / but that they were at
his sermons and herd hym. And then
whā he was so clerely conuicted by so
many / so honest and so farre fro all sus-
picyō of corrupcyō / yt were peraduen-
ture a thyng not cōuenyēt / after those
wyrtnesses publyshed / to byrge p[re]-
sents a fresshe byp[er] the p[ri]ncypall mater.
For yf yt so shold be / than sholde ey-
ther the newe p[ro]nes depose the same
that the tother dyde befoze / o[er] ellys
they sholde depose the contrary / o[er] fy-
nally saye suche thyng as neyther
coulde make nor marce. Now yf they
dyde the fyrste / that is to saye depose
as yf sayd / thā were we no fether
than

The thyrd booke.

then we were before / and þ tyme lost
and þ mater delayed in hayne. þf they
hede the thyrd / depolynge percales that
they self were not pleset / oꝝ a slepe oꝝ
not well vnderstode / oꝝ not well reme-
mbered þ mater / yet were we still at one
stay. But now the secōd poynt (which
were in maner the onely thyngs that
might seme to haue eny colour for him)
that the new pꝛouers wold depose / that
they were at the same tyme pꝛesent / &
stode nere hym / marked hym wel / and
were also well remembred. that he sayd
not so / ye and peraduenture that he sayd
þ contrary / thys case were possible / but
surely yt were so seldom lyhely / that it
were not woꝛth to chaunge a law ther-
foꝛe. But now yt yt so sholde happen /
here were a grette confusyon. And how
coude eny sentence be gꝛuen / yt they
sholde byleue the secōde as well as þ
fyꝛst. ¶ That maketh quod he no ma-
ter. For þf the mater appere vppō hys
syde thereby / eþer clere oꝝ doutefull /
than may the iudges acquyte & assolve
the defendanūt. Better were yt þ faulty
to be quytte / than the faultles to be pu-
nyshed. ¶ It were a strange thyng w
þf the law shold in suche a mater as
thys is / after the wytnesses onys pu-
nyshed / & thereby the mater wel pꝛued /
than examyne other wytnesse a feylth
vpon the pꝛyncypall poynt. This were
in my mynde peryllous / not onely for
fere of subornacyon and false instanc-
cyon of wytnesse / a thyng easy to be
done vppō the syght of þ þ is depoled
all redy before / but also for that yt the
affyrmacys be pꝛued / specially in this
case of heresys beyng by so many suffe-
renly pꝛoued / that one taught and
pꝛeched suche thyngs in hys open ser-
mony / yt other that were pꝛesent at

the same sermons wold depose þ
contrary. It may be that that the fyrst
herde the thyngs whiche the secōde
marked not as many tymes yt hap-
peth. And moze lyhely is yt also þ one
maye forgete the thyngs that he herd /
than that a nother sholde remember þ
thyngs that he herde not. And yt they
woulde peraduenture adde thereto that
he sayd the contrary of suche thyngs
as was pꝛoued agaynst hym / than can
yt at the best be no better taken / than
that he in one sermons sayd taught &
pꝛeched both twayne / that is to wote
the trowth and þ heresyes. In whiche
case he well were iudged so know-
lege his fault and be corrected therfoꝛe.
¶ By my trowth quod he. yet me then-
keth euer that yt ought to be herde all
that any man wold say / and take all
to the beste for hym that is accused / &
specially in heresys pꝛesented to be pꝛe-
ched where so many be pꝛesent. Surely
quod I what were best god woꝛth
for I can not telle. But thys wote I
well that the wyte of the hole world
in effect agreeth / that i all such hegh-
nous crimes / as can be clere to the con-
trary and quyte agaynst your mynde.
And where ye thynke your mynde woꝛ-
thy to take specciall place in the pꝛofe
and examynacyon of heresyes / surely
me semeth that of all crimes in here-
sie myghte yt lesse be sufferd. For
well ye wote that heresyes be false
belefe and factious wayes full of
busyness. And suche as geue them self
thereto / be stourdy and sturdous about
the furtheraunce of theyꝛ sedyous
sect. And syth they be fallen from god
and hys true fapth / they haue no grette
care of trowth / noꝝ be very scrupulous
fyr lendorng of an othe till they made
an lyke

in lyke case to be payd agayne. So þ
 þf they may stand agaynst othe
 good menys þe and where þ herespe
 is pposed to haue be pceded there me
 may be herd and beleued in depolynge
 the contrary the false pcedence maye
 be hold to say what hym lyke. For he
 shall neuer saye to haue hys recordeys
 oedy. ¶ He quod he but chys way wold
 not leaue hym. For men myghte take
 excepys to the þf they were heretys.

¶ Say þ I not if they be so but þf they
 be pceded so. And þ shall they neuer be
 þf þour way were receyued. For eche of
 they wytnesse shall alway sette othe.

¶ Forsoth quod he þf semeth somwhat
 peryllous as þe say þf men shold aga
 pnde the thymarye pceded leue to þ
 contrary wytnesse for the negatiue in
 any copine that is sedycious and hath
 dayly folke of euyl consence seme
 ly fall in thereto. But þe I myghte
 oaple of one thyng. For I haue herd
 þf credibly repoied that there were
 thwayn a both benefyled men both be
 ey conynge men both thwayne very
 beclues men whyth herd hym pcedhe
 as well as they dyd that had depoled
 agaynst hym. And thos thwayne a fter
 med I offered to depole that he pceded
 not the thyng whyth he was accused
 of. And luterly had I ben iudge. I wol
 be haue bpleued thos thwayne aboue
 othe twentye except wytnesse be ta
 ken onely by ryght a not by weyght.

¶ Butly quod I my mynd and yours
 be not farre a sonder. For lythall wy
 nes leue to enduce þ iudgys mynde to
 conceyue a credence and an opponon
 or rather a certayn perswasyon on the
 sone syde. I could not my selfe but þ
 leue some thwayne better than some
 twentye. And wold not saye to way

them rather then take them by tale.
 How be þe quod I of thos thwayne a
 lone was in dede luche as þe say. But
 as for þ tother was nyether thā holde
 very cleare and synys that tyme pced
 ued clerely nought. But though þ tyme
 was as he was i dede a very good mā
 yet for the manys excule he was no
 very good wytnesse nor þ tother ney
 ther all though he had bene as good a
 man as he nor þf they had ben fourty
 men mo as good as the better of them
 both saynge as they dyd. ¶ Wþ quod
 he sayed they not well for hym. ¶ Wes
 quod I for as fatre as they wente but
 they wot not farr ynough. ¶ Ah quod
 he they wordys were of lyphod na
 rowly taken. ¶ They were quod I ta
 ke as large as they were spok. whyth
 was that he pceded not luche herespes
 in a place wher they had hym in A
 don. But then was hys deteccyon and
 the profumade the mynion of thos he
 respes pceded at sondre places out of
 London wherby they wordys went
 as wyde for hys excule as þf one that
 were receyuyd for a felonye done at
 Walpurg & shone tyneday brought
 in good wytnes to the barr that wold
 depole and swere for hym that he dyd
 no such felonye at Whymber & there
 thursdays for they were w hym there
 all that day them self. But for concla
 syon he was conuetyd by mo then xx
 and excusid by neuer one. And therfore
 þf hys iudgys woged hym there was
 neuer man had ryghte. And þe were
 there besydes the wytnes some letters
 wyrtten of hys own hand vnto one of
 hys iudg / whyth letters I haue syns
 leue / sondryng in myne ecys to as well
 herespes as thos were that he was de
 cepted of. whyth letters were neuer
 layd

The thyrde booke.

laped in to the court tyll that after the
prouys publyshed & redde/ he appered
obstynate standyng styll in þe denyall/
and proudeley refusyng to submytte
hym selfe to hys aburayon. For than
sayd hys iudge to whome they were
wryten/ that lyth he refused to be re-
concyled to the church/ he woulde kepe
no cōsyle of hys. And therw brought
in those letters and fyled them among
the recordys of the court. ¶ Thys man
had also ben before that accused vnto
the grettest prelate in thys realme/ who
for hys tender fauoure borne to þe
uerlyte/ dyd not prede far in þe mater
agarnst hym. But acceptyng hys de-
nyall wryth a corpozall othe that he
shold from that tyme forth be no setter
forth of heresyis/ but in hys pchynge
and redyngys impugne them/ dyfyn-
sed hym very benygneley/ and of hys
lyberall hounte gaue hym also money
for hys scollis. And yet was none of all
these maters layed vnto hys charge.
Whych yf they had ben/ wold perad-
uere haue put hym to parcell. ¶ I was
also my selfe synnys hys aburayon
presents as yt happed wryth an hono-
rable prelate at such tyme as one þe was
an auncient heretyque had ben examy-
ned/ and there had confessed that he
had holden/ taught/ and in dyuerse co-
trees spredde about almost all þe her-
esyis/ that enplew heretyque holdeth.
¶ May ye not tell hys name quod he.
¶ Whych of the quod I. For he had mo
names than halfe a lefe canne holde.
¶ Where dwellyd he quod your fæder.
¶ Euery where and no where quod I.
For he walked about wryth an appostle
of þe dunell from wyte to wyte & towne
to towne thow the realme/ & had in
euery dyoclyse a dyuers name. By resoun

wherof he dyd many yeres mych harm
or he could be foude out. ¶ Thys heretyke
touchyng all hys other heresyis/ he
knowyng theym in conclusyon to be
noughtis/ and offerd to abure theym.
But as for dyspysing of ymagys/ re-
ques/ aplycymagys/ those thengis he
sayd were none heresyis but very good
& trew poyntis/ for he had theym yse-
chyd he sayd of þe grettest doctoz/ namyng
the man we speke of/ and tolde wher.
¶ Confessyng also that he lyked so well
hys sermons/ that he letted not to ga-
re myke to here hym. And yet was ther
synnys that a nother heretyque that
confessed for hys owne parte the lyke.
So that ye may se that good cytyen
folke were offende both hys pchynge
and heretyques lyked hys pchynge/ &
grounded there heresyis vnto hys p-
chynge. And than take you what ma-
ner of pchynge yt was lyhely to be.
¶ I told you also ryght now that one
of those two that ye toke for so good
cōpnyng men/ was after founde worse
than many men wolde haue wene.
¶ Yf so was yt in dede that he was
detectyd for byenge of many bookys of
Luther/ Lambert/ and Zwinglius &
other of that sorte/ & well prouyd þe
hym selfe also cōfessed/ þe had bought
of those bookys very many/ whiche he
broughte forthe as lawe/ wher he had
layd them by no lesse falslycously/ thā
secretly/ and so secretly þe all the towne
shulde haue sought them long en they
shulde haue founde them out. ¶ He had
also set a prest of hys and a secular ser-
uaunte of hys helyde to bye many of þe
same wyte/ and double and treble of
one sorte/ whych were by thym burred
to dyuers poyntes scollers suche as they
found properly wytted/ fetely lerned/
and

and newfangly mynded. And thus labored to corrupt the realme. A nother parvish preste had he byfore / that kept hys cure also as thys other dyd / whych was after preued a very pernyciouse heretyque. ¶ But what was quod he done to the mayster. ¶ Forsoth quod I grete fauoure had he / and as som men sayd grete wrong to / that he was not openly declared. How be yt because he was in good estymacion / there was of pryte mych regard had to the conseruacion of hys honestye. And no thyng was there in effecte extracted of hym / but hys amendement wryth þ knowlegrunge of hys faulte. For surely þ man was of such a poze spyre in Criste / þ for eny othe that could be geuen hym / long yt was ere pryde wold for shame suffer him to say þ trouth. After whych onys confessed w hys hand wrytyng / than as farte as I haue hard without any other abutacyō / there was secretly hys solēne othe take in iudgemēt / þ he shuld do no such thyng eny more bypō payne of a relap / & so wryth certayne secret penauence dysmisyd. But the thyng that I tell you my tale for ys thys. Thys man belydes that all þ bookeys in effecte which he had boughte in effecte of thys Lutherane secte were dyligently red ouer and studyed / & w such maner of notys marked in þ margyne and wordes wryten of hys owne hand whete the worste maters were / þ he left no man in doute that red the what sacmente assercyon he bare vnto theym / he had I say belydys all thys / byuers ppyles I wot nere whole / but wryten were they wryth hys owne hād / wherin were plenty of pestilent heresy. And a sermon also wryte thā they all wryten wryth hys owne hand also.

redy to be preched as yt semed of the world wold so chaunge that the tyme wolde serue yt. And whan he was in hys examynacyō soze preched vppon to tell for what intent he made such a sermon redy & layd yt vppon so secretly / destitute at last of all ercules þ myght bere eny coloure of eny good cause / well quod he I see well I muste tell all / I am lothe to hurt eny body. And ther vppon he told how yt was made þ most parte by the man þ was abiured / of whom we specially speke. So that now lettynge all thys gerte to gether / thys mannys confessyon / hys secrete frende and cōpanyon in such maters / hys olde accusacions of lyke maters / the heretyques confessyons that founded they heresy in the same maters vppon thautozpye of hys sermon / and belydys all thys mo than. xx. wytness playnly prouynge the mater agaynst hym / I wolde fayne wytte who had ryght of he had wronge / all though there had ben vled to hym more rygour a grete dele than ther was.

The. v. chapyter.

¶ The authoz proueth that þ spyrytual iudges dyd þ man mercuriouse fauour / & almost more than laful / in that they admytted hym to such an abiuracyō as they dyd / and that they dyd not rather leue hym to the secular handys.

¶ If þ he what dyspall rygoure could they more haue shewed for the fyrst tyme / than make hym abiure and bere a faggot. ¶ Yes quod I som mā had leuer bere twayn colde in hys necke / than haue one bere hym hots on a fyre at hys feete. ¶ In sayth quod he they could not haue done that to hym at the fyrst tyme. ¶ Now I not

The thyrde boke.

I not yf he wyllyngly retourned to þe chyrch knowlegynge hys faute/ & redy to abiure all heresydes/ and penitently submytted hym selfe to penaunce. And ellys yf he proue hym selfe obstynate and impenitent/ the chyrch neyther is bounden noz oughte to receyue hym/ but vterly may forlake hym and leue hym to the seculare handys. But now was he so obstynate that he wolde not abiure of lōg tyme. And dyuerse dayes were hys iudg^e sayne of theyr fauour to geue hym wyth sufferaunce/ som his beste frendys & whom he most trusted/ to resozte vnto hym. And yet scantely could all thys make hym submytte hi selfe to make hys abiuracyon. And finally were they sayne for sauynge of hys lyfe/ to drysse a forme of abiuracyon/ wherof I neuer saw yf lyke/ noz in so playne a case neuer wold were I yf iudg^e/ suffer yf lyke here after. ¶ What man was that quod he. ¶ Wherby quod I hys abiuracyon was suche that he theri abiured & forswore all heresydes/ knowlegynge hym selfe lawfully conypte. But where as they be wont to cofesse in theyr owne abiuracyon that they haue holden such heresydes and be gylyte therof/ that wolde he do in no wyse/ but as clerely as hys fawte was proued/ and by as many/ yet wolde he not to dye therfore confesse hym selfe fawtyr/ but alway stode styll vppō yt in vertue of hys othe that all they be lyed hym. ¶ It myght happen quod he that he had forgotten yf he so had pched. ¶ That were quod I grete wounder. For I am sure whan he had pched so in so many placys/ he had not done yt of a sodayne aduenture/ but of a delibherat purpose/ whych excepte he fell madde/ yt were not well possyble for

hym in so grete a mater to forgete. And bys yd^e thys yt was also depoled/ that i a place where he pched/ he was after the sermon resoned wythall forthwys. And by an honest ley mā had yt layed vnto hys charge/ yf he had parcelously pched/ shewyng hym wherin. Wher vnto he made answere not that he had not sayed so/ noz that he had not ment so/ oz that they had mysse taken and wozong vnderstanden hys wordis/ but that he wold pche there agayne sone after/ and proue hys pchynge trewe by the olde doctours of the chyrch. And thys happed hym not longe byfore yf he was accused. Was yt now possyble by your sayth that he coude haue forgoten thys. ¶ It was quod he possyble ynough that all to gerher was false/ & that they lyed all. For so myght they do by possybylyte beyng but men/ and though they had ben mo the they were. And then he peraduenture knowynge that they so dyd/ why sholde he falslye confesse a fawte in hym selfe for the falsched of other folke. ¶ That is w^t I trewe yf he so knew yt. But how could yf he so/ agaynst so many pypys swozen and depolynge the mater vppon theyr oth^e/ beyng though they were but mē/ yet men of wytte and honestye & some well lerned also/ and men that bare hym no dyspleasur for eny other mater than hys euyl pchynge/ men almoste all such as wold haue none other mater to hym/ folke that neuer had other mater wyth hym/ and many of them of lytell acquaintaunce oz none the one wyth the other/ so that there was no fere of conspyrynge to gyder i one tale. ¶ Yet quod he were yt possyble yf they myght lye all. ¶ And what quod I yf he had be accused i other plac^e byfore/ as he

as he was in bed: not onely to y^e moost honorable prelate that I told you: but besyde hym into two other bysshops to. ¶ Well quod he and yet they that so accused hym might happen to lye to. ¶ And what quod I that hys owne secreete acquaintaunce confessed that he made the fyrst draught of that vngtacious sermon that I told you. ¶ Herd you that your selfe quod he. ¶ Wherof I saye quod I naye: but such as I herde yt of were mē of moze woꝛship & treuth ther to than that any man I wene wolde mistrust theyr tale. ¶ As woꝛshipfull as they were quod he and as trusty to: I coulde mistrust theyr tale well y^e nough somtyme for lacke of indifferēce: peradventure as they stode byn sworne. And yet though I mistrusted not theym all: yt myght be that they sayd errowe: and that the tother lye: whiche for hys owne excuse layde the fyrst making of that sermon to the tother man. ¶ The layeng therof to hym quod I could not excuse hym selfe. For he confessed that hym selfe lyked yt & allowed it. And therfore wote yt out: and addyd also many thyngis mo the to. ¶ Well q^d he and yet all thys myght be. ¶ And what quod I of the heretiques that grounded theyr oppynions bypon hys sermons. ¶ Naye yt not be quod he that they lye. ¶ And what q^d I of theym y^e accused hym to other places before. ¶ By god quod he even as I tolde you before yt myght be y^e they lye wel ynough. ¶ And what than q^d I of all those twenty that depoled agaynst hym now. ¶ Naye quod he as I told you now: it myght be that they dyde even the same. ¶ Thys is quod I a straunge thyng to me. ¶ Wherof quod he shoulde thys be straunge to you. ¶ He

thynketh yt shoulde be straunge to no man but very playne to every man: y^e yt myght be so. For I pray you myght yt not be so: were yt not possible that they myght all lye: & though they were as many mo. ¶ Possible quod I: that I say not nay but that it were possible though they were. ¶ Y^e times as many. ¶ Well quod he syth yt myght be so: the put case yt was so. Wyde not he cyght than in that he styl sayd so: And yf he had dyed therin had he not dyed for y^e trowth: for knowynge in hym selfe y^e all they belyed him: he was not bound to belye hym selfe wth theym: and confessed agaynst hym selfe an vntrowth: but had be in grete synne yf he so shold haue done. ¶ What saye ye to thys. ¶ I say quod I to thys that all the forces & effect of your conclusyon hangeth bypon the case whiche ye put: that all that euer ought sayd or depoled agaynst hym lye all y^e meyney. whiche case ye wold nedys haue graunted bycause yt was possible. And than y^e case onys graunted: ye deduce your conclusyon very sure ly. And in good saythe ye bynge me therwth so to my wyttys ende: that I wote not well whiche waye to answer you admyttinge your case. But euer my mynde gyueth me that your case though yt be possible: were rather to be graunted at a scole in argument: than at a court in iudgemēt. And I pray you for the pꝛofe therof lette me put you a nother case: whiche in good saythe I am half ashamed to put you: sayyng y^e ye dyne me to seke a shyfte. And yet shall not my case in my mynde be mych vnlyke to yours. yf yt so were y^e wyll ken had layd a wager with Symken: that in a certayn way named bytweene theym vsuall ynough for men & horse both

The thyrde boke.

both there had gone of late an hore oz
two and that he wold so clerely proue
yt that yt coude not be the contrary.
¶ If Symken sayd and layd hys wager
the contrary and than they bothe shold
these vs for iudges and we compynge
all four in to the way. Wylken wold
shew vs on the grounde parte in y clay
and part peradventure in the snow the
prient of hore fete and of mennys fete
also by a longe way ten myle togyder
and ye wyl / tyll they come at a wa-
ter wher as went a way by shyp no mā
can tell who nor whither yt forseth
not for out wyle case / but now if Wyl-
ken wolde say that he had wonne hys
wager / for lo here ye se the prient of y
hore fete all thys waye shone and all
wyth the very naylys in them / so that
yt maye be none other wyle but hore
hath gone here. ¶ If Symken after all
this wold say the wager were hys for
yt ys not proued that any hore hadde
goone there / for yt myght be that they
were geldyngs oz mares / here were we
fallen in a grete questyon of the law /
whither y gray mare maye be y better
hore oz not / oz whither he haue a wyle
face oz not that loketh as lyke a foole
as an ewe loketh lyke a shepe. And in
thys questyon yf the parties demurred
in our iudgement / we myght aske ad-
uise ferther of lernyd men and iudgis.
¶ We myght quod he be sure to be sure
of the mater / make yt a cheker cham-
ber case. Or sayynge the premunye /
we myght haue yt tryed in the rote at
Rome. ¶ Very well q I so that I see
wel by your wyte and myn togyder /
one shifte oz other we shold fynde for
a small ende therin / yf the doute were
in that poynte. But now if Symken
spred not therto / but wold saye thus

lo here ye see the men haue gone thys
way / and how can yethan be sure that
any hore wente here. For I put case
sayth he that these men whiche went
here had hore shone in theyr handys
made fast vpon longe stelys / and alway
as they went pryked the doone hard
in the grounde. ¶ Tut quod he this were
a wyle inuencyon. ¶ Veryly q I to me
yt wold not seme very gay. But now
if Symken were contencuous & wold
say the wager were hys except yt be so
proued that yt can be none other wyle
but that hore haue of late gone there
& then wyl say to vs lo syys as ye se
it yt may be other wyle. For me myght
make wyth theyr handys all the prient
of hore shone in the grounde. And if
yf we wolde say that was neuer so / he
wolde aske vs how can we be sure ther
of / whyle we can not say naye but ye
myght be so / and thā wold I yll prece-
dypon vs wyth thys questyon maye yt
not be so. ¶ It may q be by possybylite
be so. ¶ Than quod I whan we graunt
hym onys that yt may be so / than wyl
he by and by put case that yt were so.
And then yf we graunt hym hys case
onys for the possybylite / than wyl he
shozely conclude that the tother parte
ys not so surely proued / as yt must be
yf Wylken sholde wyne the wager.
What sholde we saye to hym now / to
whom shold we grue the wager. ¶ In
sayth quod he I wote nere what to say
to hym. And the mater is so mad that
as for the wager what I wolde grue
Wylken I wote nere / but as for Sym-
ken except he better impugned y profe /
yf the wager were but a butter flye / I
wolde neuer awarde hym one wyng.
¶ Surely quod I and you shall rule y
mater for me. For yf ye grue thought
he geteth

he getteth as I tell of me. But now we
 what yf he were angry y his proper in
 mencyon were no more set by / nor hys
 wyrt no more regarded / and wold ther
 bypō help forth his parte with his othe
 and swere bypō a boke that hym selfe
 saw when the mā made those pyntys
 in y grounde wyth horse shone holden
 in theyr handys / what wolde ye then
 say. ¶ Wary quod he than wold I say
 & swere to y besyde y losse of his wager
 he had like a false folyshe knave lost his
 honeste & his soule to. ¶ In good fayth
 quod I & for aught I se yet I durst be
 bold to swere w you. And thā lettyn
 wyken alone w Symken dysputyn
 theyr sophem them self / let vs retorne
 home agayne to oure owne mater. In
 which whyle there were so many so cle
 re & open prouys agais y mā of whom
 we speke al this whyle / though it were
 possible y all they myght be false / yet
 coulde there none indyfferent iudge so
 thynke / except it were so proued / & y by
 other meanes thā y only othe of y pte
 y is accused / swerig alone agaynst thē
 all. ¶ Yet q he for all y yf he know in
 dede y he dyd it not / he doth but wel to
 abyde by y tcouthe. ¶ Wery soth ye say
 quod I. Nor Symken neyther yf he
 saw the men pzent the horse shone in y
 hyghe waye though yt semed vs neuer
 so vnykely / yet hadde he done well
 ynough to saye y & swere y to a styfly
 so stycke therby. And yet ye remember
 parde that yf he so wolde haue sworne
 ye & I both durst ryght now ryght bol
 dely haue bileued y he lyed. And might
 we not wel byleue the same in our case
 to. ¶ Yes quod he y wyll I well. And
 therfore the iudgys dyd hym but ryght
 to taken hym as conuicted / and ther
 fore to compell hym to abiure. But yet

they shewed hym therin no suche fa
 uour as ye speke of / in y they admittid
 hym to hys abiuracyō wout cōfessynge
 of y faute. For yf they had forced hym
 therto / they had in my mynd done hym
 playn & open wrong / bycause y might
 be y he sayd and sware true. And then
 sholde they haue forced hym agaynst
 his cōscience / to say of hym self vntue.
 And that shold they do not onely clene
 agaynst ryght / but also wythout neces
 sitye / cōsiderynge y they myght as in
 conclusyō they dyd / abiure hym other
 wyse. And therfore they toke the best
 way bothe for hym & for them self also.
 But synn they dyd therin none other
 wyse thē as they were of duty bounde /
 y well appereth he had therin no such
 fauour as ye wolde make y seme that
 they shewed hym. ¶ Wel q I syth yout
 self agreeeth y he had no wronge / albe
 y no fauour hadde bē shewed hym / yet
 were yout etand answered as far as tou
 cheth his abiuracyō. & now yf I shold
 proue you y his iudg shewed hym such
 fauour / I fere me lest I shold ther w sū
 what seme to charge them that they
 had done though not wronge / yet very
 nere wronge / y fauour apperyng to be
 shewed / yf not agais y law / yet at the
 lest way y lawe for fauour so far stre
 ched forth / y y lether could scant hold.
 But yet these they for me. For sythe
 I haue sayde y / I wyll tell you why /
 and so mych the more boldely bytwene
 vs twayne / for that I perceyue not in
 you eny such maner of mynde toward
 them / that ye wolde blowe abroad
 eny favote of vnlawfull fauour foun
 den in them. ¶ Ah well sayde quod
 he and lawghed. ye wene I were
 more redy to reposte theyre rygoure
 then eny poynt of theyr fauour. ¶ Well
 taken

The thyrde boke.

taken of you quod I. I se well a man
 cā not have a good oppniō of you / but
 your cōscyēce cōstrayth it to þ cōtrary.
 But now for þ mater / I trowe we be
 agreed both / þal were it so þ þ mā had
 bē faultlesse in dede / yet were þ prouys
 agāst hym so many / so good / so cleve &
 euydēt / & so mych more thā suffyēt / þ
 neyther his iudg^r nor our self neyther /
 nor I thiike his own father neyther yf
 yf he had herd thē / could have thought
 hi other thā very gretely gyltie. ¶ Su
 rely q he þ is true ¶ Now q I þ beyng
 true þ they could non other wyle take in
 hym though he styl sware þ cōtrary /
 must yt not ned^r be þ in his denpenge
 in vertue of his othe / þ thyng^r whych
 thei coud not but bileue true / they must
 ned^r theris byleue hym all þ whyle to
 lye & be piured. ¶ That foloweth q he
 ¶ Now q I whā one is accused & con
 uictred of heresy / what thig wyl þ law
 þ þ chyrch shal receyue hym to. ¶ What
 thig q he. Mary to mercy. ¶ Nay q I
 mercy is þ thyng as it semeth þ they re
 ceyue him by / not þ thig þ they receyue
 him to. ¶ Thē is yt quod he to penaūce.
 ¶ That semeth well sayd q I. For the
 chyrch by mercy receyueh hym to pe
 naūce. ¶ But now q I doth þ chyrch o
 pely receiue to penaūce any pson appe
 ring & prouig him self styl impenyēt.
 ¶ Nay quod he. ¶ Appereth not he styl
 impenyēt q I þ styl appereth piured /
 & styl standing in periury. And where
 þ fyrst parte of penaūce is cōfessō &
 humble knowlegynge of the fault / can
 the chyrch taken hym penyēt þ styl re
 fuseth to cōfesse his fault / þ lyeth falsly
 styl / & falsely forswereth hymselfe.
 ¶ The chyrche quod he can not surely
 know whyther he swere true oz false /
 and therfore they can not surely iudge

hym forsworen. For yt may be by possy
 blyte that all the wytnesse lyed. ¶ It
 may be to quod I by possyiblyte yf we
 go this way to worke / þ all þ men lyed
 þ euer haue sayd they came fro Rome /
 and that al þ byrefys and bullys were
 fayned that euer were suppoled to be
 brought fro thense / for aught that he
 can tell that neuer cam there him self /
 For som one mā myght lye & some one
 bull oz byrefe myght be fayned / and so
 som other & one by one / & so forth of all
 the remanauit. For lyke possyiblyte is
 ther in eury one as is in eny one. And
 paduenture as for your own self haue
 neuer yet talked wyth. xx. þ haue tolde
 you they haue ben at Rome. ¶ No no
 q he nor I wene is. x. neyther. ¶ And
 how many bull^r q I and byrefys haue
 ye sene that cam thense. ¶ By our lady
 q he bullys bety few / and byrefe neuer
 non / for I neuer aske after thē. ¶ Thē
 q I myght you by your own reason as
 well dowte whyther there were eny
 Rome oz no / as whyther that mā lyed
 and were forsworn oz no. But in this
 poynt I wyl not lōg styck w you. For
 surely stādpyng the mater in such case þ
 hys iudgis could not othertwyse thynke
 of hym but þ he was faulty of thyngys
 whych he styl in vertue of his othe de
 nyed / all were yt so that they myghte
 thynke therwyth þ by possyiblyte they
 myght be in that mynde deceyued / yet
 whyle they could not thynke that they
 could haue none other mynde / but that
 he (though yt myght by possyiblyte be
 trewe that he sware) yet was for
 sworne in dede / and in bety dede per
 seuered in periury. Nowe the mater I
 say stādpyng in such case / lyth he þ is so
 playn apperpyng periury / standeth in þ
 denyal of his fault & fals defēce of hym
 selfe

Self cannot be rekened of hys sawte pe-
nyrt / & vnto penaunce ought none un-
penyrt pson to be admyttryd / I wyll
not say yf hys iudgys dyd wronge. But
surely me thynkith I may well say that
they the wyd hym grete fauour / in that
they receyuyd hym to penaunce wout yf
cōfessyō of hys fault. And I thynk vcre-
ly it was a fauorable lassyon of abiura-
cyon / & so strange yf the lyke hath bene
very seldō sene yf euer yt were sene be-
fore. And yf did they in hope yf god shal
send hym moze grace in tyme to come /
& so I belech hi to do. For I pynile you
for my parte I neuer can cōcepye good
hope of his ainēdmēt / all yf while yf I se
yf pryde abyde styll in hys hart / yf cā not
suffer hi for shame to cōfesse hys fault.

The. vi. chapyter.

The author shewyth yf the person
abiured for hys owne honeste world-
ly / and for the moze frute of hys pre-
chyng / yf he be suffred to preche in
tyme to come / yt were mych better
for hym openly & wyllnygly to con-
fesse the trothe. And yf now by the sta-
dyng styll in the denyall / he both sha-
myth hym self / & shuld yf he prechyd
sclaunder the worde of god.

¶ Ys q he paduenture better
thus. For than shuld he sclaū-
der hym self & the word of god
also / if he shuld hereafter preche agayn
¶ May mary q I than shuld he rather
deliuer hym self fro sclaūder & the word
of god also. For than shuld euer mā se
the dyuell cast clene out of hys harte / &
hope yf he shulde be fro thenforth a be-
ry good man. where now thynkig hym
to perseuer in a proude partyry / we can
none other thynk but yf he must nedys
be very nought styll / though we shulde
herafter here hym preche neuer so well.
& yf were a soze sclaūder to the worde of
god / yf men shuld se hym whō they here
preche well / so proude an ypochryte and

ther to so folyth to / yf for a false hope of
hys own estymacyō preferuyd / he labo-
ryth as mych as in hym ys to make the
worlde wene yf. xx. trew men were for-
sworn agaynst hym. wherin whyle the
ys no man so mad to belcūe hym / he le-
seth (yf he preche in thys plyght) all his
hole purpose / & winneth nothig but the
cōtrary / yf ys double shame of hys pud-
gury & hys unalcyous mynde / in stede
of the prayse yf he lokyth & prechyth for.

The. vii. chapyter.

The mesenger moueth a questyō /
if a man be sworn by a iudge to say
the trowth of hi self in a cryme wher-
of he ys had suspect / whether he may
not lawfully on hys othe swere vn-
trewth / where he thynketh yf trowth
cā not be puyd agayst hym. wherūto
thauthor answereth yf he is bounde by
pōpell of piury to say & cōfess trowth
And yf mych moze syn & folye bothe
was it the for yf mā yf thus was abiur-
ryd to forswere hym self in the thig yf
he wist well wold be puyd / & a shame
lesse foly to stand styll by hys piury /
whā he saw yf mater so clerely puyd
in dede. And w thys synnyth he yf
mater of hys abiuracyon.

¶ A good sayth q he I begyn in
thys mater to be of your mynd
For yf mater beyng so playn & clerely p-
uyd / it was & is both syn & foly to stand
i yf denyēg. But there cometh a thig in
my mid thogh it be sūwhat out of our
mater / wherin I wolde be glad to here
what ye thik. ¶ What thynng ys yf q Ie
¶ Mary q he I haue hard sū well lerned
men say yf a mā were accused of a fault
yf were trow in dede / yet if it be secret &
cā not be puyd / in a othe put vnto hym
he may & ought to swere nay because yf
of secret & vnknowen thynng no mā cā
be hys iudge. For onely god is iuge of
man's harte. And yf he shold cōfesse it
where he nedyth not before no cōpetēt
iudge

The thyrd boke.

iudge / þ is to wyt hys secrete faut opely befoze me wherof only god is iudge / thā shuld he defame him selfe / & þ were grete syn. For holy scripture sayth / curā habe de bono noie. Take hede of thy good name. Et melioꝝ ē noie bonū q̃ diuitie multe. Better ys a good name thē mych rycheſſe. And yt saythe also / Maledict⁹ homo q̃ negligit famā suā. A cursed ys þ man þ careth not what me lay of hi. And therfoze I haue hard som well lernyd men say / þ in this case a man may boldely deny the matere vppon hys othe be yt neuer so trew / so þ yt be so secrete as yt be not able to be pved by wytnesse. ¶ Forsoth quod I it ys a large & a long mater to speke of p iury. But as for thys poynt I hold it i my mynde lytyll questyō. For I holde thys onys for a sure & a infallible cōclu syō / þ a mā may neuer lawfully be forsworne. Mary trouth it is þ a mannys oth receyueſh interpretacyō / & is not alway bounden precysely to þ woꝝdis. As yf a iuge wold swere me generally in a courte to make trew āswer to such thyng as shuld be asked of me / & after myne othe gyuen / he wolde aske me certayn questyōs of maters nothing be lōgig to hym / I were not by myn othe bounden to make hym answer / for as mych as no such thyng was i myn oth intended. And therfoze if a prest þ had herd a mannys confellyō were called before a iudge & sworne for a wytnes / he myght boldly swere he knew nothyng of þ mater. Not for þ comē glose þ þ cōfellyō was not māde to hym as to him self but as to godd⁹ mynyſter / but for þ þ law dyschacgyth hym of the wlg eny such thig / no lesse thā yf hys othe were geue⁹ hym in thys maner / what knowe we of this mater out of cōfellyō. For els yf there were a tyrant þ wolde cōpelle hym by expresse woꝝdys to swere what he knew by þ mānys cōfellyō / þ cōfellyō

had in my minde no remedy but to tell hym playnly / for I wyll not swere for you noꝝ in such mater make you eny ā swere to dye therfoze / not for eny thig þ I know in þ mā for this mater thogh I tolde you all hys hole cōfellyō anon / but for the euyl þ shulde grow by such a pcedēt. For yf I shulde now excuse an innocente swerynge truely that I harde no suche thyng in hys confellyō / I shulde in soine other cause ex ther be forsworne / oꝝ by my refusinge to swere I shulde make the man the moze suspecte / i that I refuse to swere as myche for hym as I dyde for a nother. And therfoze wyll I not make eny answer in thys for þ perell þ may fall in other. And wyth thys answers oꝝ such other must he playnly refuse to swere what payn so etier he sholde endure therfoze. And in lyke wyse yf eny iudge wolde gyue an othe to eny persō to tell hym þ truth of eny cryme / which were so secrete as the iudge had neuer hard eny thig therof / but wold for hys onely pleasure know by the mānys oth whither ther were paduētute eny such thyng oꝝ not / þ pte may deny to swere oꝝ to make hym answer therein. But o þ tother syde yf he be denouced oꝝ detected vnto hym / eyther by commune fame oꝝ other ifozynacyō / w such cōiectures & lykelyhed⁹ as the law geueth þ iudge autorite to gyue þ pte an othe for þ ferther serch of þ mater / ther is he playnly boundē vppō payne of eternall dānacyō w out coueryng oꝝ cautell to shew & disclose þ playne trouth / & to haue moze respect to hys soule thā to hys shame. For as for those text⁹ whych ye alledged / be far from thys poynt. For they nōe other mean / but þ a mā shold in hys lyuyng auoyd not onely synne / but also all occacyōs wherby me might haue resonable cause falsly to dyffame him. And it was neuer mēt of þ shame that

þ a man taketh of hys owne cōfessyon
for hys synne cōmytted in dede. For by
þ he lesyth not hys good name/ but get
teth hys good name amōg good folk. &
as for of euyl mēn^r word^r ther is no re
kenig. But surely as I say yf a mā had
bē as yll as a deuyl/ & after repēig his
syn wold for pte of hys penaunce wyl
lyngly offer hyr self to þ sufferauce of
open shame/ther were no good cristen
mā þ wold after þ lyke þ man þ wors/
but a grete deale þ better. And yf all su
che opē cōfessyō were synne/there was
mych syn bled amōg good folke many
day in Cryst^r chyrch/whā yt was mych
better thā yt is now. Lo Achā þ had cō
mytted sacrilege wherof ys wyrtē in
Josue/was cōfessed by Josue to cōfesse
hys faute opely/ & gyue glozy to god þ
had detected him by lottis. And so dyd
he/and mekely suffered for hys syn as
well the shame & wōder of the worlde/
as the payn & bytternes of deth. And
therfore I no more dout of that thefe/
but that he is a glorio^s saint in heuen/
thā I dout of þ thefe þ cryst promysed
Paradyse hangynge on þ crosse. And
surely yf mēnys old faultys were styll
they? if any after theyr amēdemēt/thā
was saynt Peter lytell beholdē to sair
Mathew & other of hys felows þ haue
flaudred hym in theyr gospels/tellyng
how shāfully after all hys crak^r he for
soke his mayster & forswore hi both. yf
a good man ware naght/þ bett he was
þ more synne it is & þ more shame also.
And ys yt not thā i resō oþ tother syde
yf a naughty mā war good/þ worse he
was þ better is for hi & þ more worship
also. Our lord sayth hi self þ for one si
ner comig again to grace/ther is more
ioy i heuē than bpps almost an hūndred
good folk þ neuer sinned. And rekē we
then þ man shamed by þ knolege of his
syn here amōg synfull mē/ whose hūble
cōfessio & meke amēdemēt wineth him

so mych worship in heuē. Trust me tru
ly whā a mā hath done euyl if he be du
ly sworē/it is a worshipfull shāc & a ioy
full sorow to cōfesse þ treuth and good
folke though they abhore þ si/ yet loue
thet & cōmēd þ mā/as one þ was noght
& ys good. And þ shame þ he cōceyeth
i hys harte afoze þ worlde/geteth hyr
grete honour afoze god. & þ shōrt glo
wig here in his chekis spedely burneth
vp & wasteth/þ neuer wastynge fyre of
hell/standynge hyr fether in stede of
grete pte of his purgatory. And therfo
re to þ poynt þ we speke of wout longe
presse I tell you playnly my mynde/þ
no man can be excused from the pell of
ēdlesse dānaciō/þ wold bps boldnes of
eny doctores opynyō/hyde oꝝ couer hys
faute by eny cantell/after a lawfull oth
gyuē him to tell þ playn trothe therin.
And who so wyl say þ cōtrary he must
nedys hold playn agaynst þ law/ & say
þ no iuge may lawfully gyue an othe
to the pty/wherof shuld the othe serue
yf þ party myght lefully forswere hyr
self. And also yf þ iudge may not law
fully giue hym þ othe/thā may he refu
se to lwere/ & may not first swere & thā
say false. whych euery man must bpps
dāpnacyō elsche w though he folly take
an othe/where he lawfully myght re
fuse yt. ¶ For sothe quod he me thynk
eth ye take the sure way. ¶ Well q I yf
this be so in othe þ is sworē where þ ma
ter as he thinkyth cā not be well pured/
how farre wꝝonge went the man that
we speke of/ to forswere hyr selfe in a
mater of prechyng/þ he wylt well was
so opē þ it wold be playnly pried what
synne was therin/ & what synne & soly
thereto was there to stycke styll in hys
piury/whā he saw þ mater all redy pro
ued so clerely & by so many/so good/so
honest/ & so indifferēt/þ he coulde na
chting now wꝝyn by þ denyng but euyl
opynyō/ & almost a dyspayre of his amē
demēt

The thyrd boke.

demēt in all þeuer hatd hi: ¶ In good sayth q̄ he all this is very truthe & ther for we shall let him a lone tyll god send hyin better mynde.

The. viii. chapyter.

¶ The authoꝝ shewethe why þ new testamēt of Tyndals trāslacyō was burned. & shewith for a sample certai word̄ euill & of euyl purpos chāgid

¶ At now I pray you let me know your mynd cōcernyng þ burnig of þ new testamēt i

glish/which Tyndal lately trāslated/& (as mē say) right wel/whiche makethe unē mitch meruayl of þ burnig ¶ It is q̄ I to me gret meruayl/þ eny good cristē mā hauig eny drop of wyt i hys hed/wold eny thig meruell oꝝ cōplayn of þ burnig of þ boke if he knowe þ mater. which who so callith þ new testamēt call eth it by a wōg name/except they wyl call yt Tyndals testament oꝝ Luthers testamēt. For so had tyndal after Luthers cōsailc corrupted & chāged yt frō the good & hōld doctryne of Criste to the deuplysh heresydes of theyr own/þ it was clene a cōtrary thing. ¶ That were maruayle q̄ your frend þ it shuld be so clene cōtrary. For to som þ red it yt semed very lyke. ¶ It ys q̄ I neuer the lesse cōtrary/ & yet þ moze peryllous. For like as to a trew siluer grote a fals cop grote is neuer þ lesse cōtrary thogh yt be quyk syluered ouer/ but so mych þ moze false i how mitch it is cōterfeted þ moze lyke to the trouth/so was þ trāslaciō so mitch þ moze cōtrary i how mitch it was crakely deupled like/ & so mych þ moze peryllous i how miche it was to solke vnlernyd moze hard to be dyssernid ¶ Why q̄ your frēd what fault wer ther i yt/ To tell you all/þ q̄ I were in a maner to reherse pou all þ hole boke/ wherin ther were founden and noted wrong & falsly trāslated a boue a thousand text̄ by tale. ¶ I wolde q̄ he sayn

here some one. ¶ He þ shuld q̄ I study for þ/ shuld study where to finde water in þ see. But I wyl shewe you for ensample two oꝝ thre suche as euery one of the thre ys moze than thryes thre in one. ¶ That were q̄ he very straunge except ye mene moze i weyght. For one cā be but one in nōber. ¶ Surely q̄ I as weyghty be they as eny lyghtly can be. But I mene þ euery one of them is moze thā thryes thre in nōber. ¶ That were q̄ he sū what lyke a rydel. ¶ This rydel q̄ I wyl sone be red. For he hath mystrāslated. iii. word̄ of gret weyght & euey de of the is as I suppose moze than thryes thre tymes repeted and reheried in þ boke. ¶ Ah þ may well be q̄ he/ but þ was not well done. But I pray you what word̄ be they: ¶ The tone ys q̄ I this word prestys. The to ther/þ chyrch. The thyrd charyte. For prestis wher so euer he spekerh of þ p̄st̄ of Cristis chyrch he neuer calleth them prestes but alway senyours/ the chyrch he calleth alway the congregacyō/ and charyte he callyth all to the loue. Now do these name in our englysh tōg neyther exp̄sse þ thyngis þ be mēt by the/ & also there apperh (þ circūstāciē well cōsidered) þ he had a mischeuo⁹ mind i þ chāuge. For fyrst as for prest̄ & p̄st̄hed though that of old they v̄led comēly to chese wel elderly mē to be prest̄/ & ther fore in þ greke tong prestys wer called presbiteri/ as we myght say elder men/ yet nether were all prest̄ chosen old as apperyth by saite Doule wrytig to Et mothe⁹/ nemo tuuenturē tuā cōtēpnat let no mā cōtēpne thy youth/ noz euery elder mā is not a prest̄. And in our englysh tonge thys word senyoz sygnyfith nothig at al/ but is a french word v̄led in englysh moze than halfe in moc hage/ whan one wyl call a nother my lord in scoyn. And if he mene to take þ laten word̄ senyoz/ þ word̄ i þ latē tōg ne uer

neuer sygnifyed a prest but only an elder mā. By whych name of elder mē yf he wold call þ prest (ēglishly/thā shold he rather sygnify the age thā the yr of fyce. And yet þ name doth i ēglish playly sygnify thaldermen of þ cyties/a nothyng þ prestys of þ chyrch. And thus may we pcepue þ rather than he wolde call a prest by þ name of a prest/he wold seke a new word he neyther wylt no: care what. ¶ Now where he calleth the chyrch alway þ cōgregaciō/what resō had he therin? For euery mā well seeth þ though þ chyrch be in dede a cōgregaciō/yet is not euery cōgregaciō þ chyrch but a cōgregaciō of cristē peple/whiche cōgregaciō of crysten peple hath ben in ēglōd alway called & known by the name of þ chyrch. Whiche name what good cause or colour could he find to toyn in to þ name of cōgregaciō/whych worde is comē to a cōpany of cristē mē or a cōpany of turkys. ¶ Lyke wyldein was there in þ chaūge of thys word charyte i to loue. For though charyte be alway loue/yet is not ye wote well loue alway charyte. ¶ The more ppyte by my sayth q your frēd þ euer loue was syn. And yet it wold not be so much so takē ff þ wold were no more suspicio⁹ than they say þ good lait frāc⁹ was/whiche whā he saw a yong mā kis a gyle onis i way of good cōpany/kneled downe & held vp hys handys in to heuen/hyghly thanking god þ charite was not yet gone oute of thys wretched world. ¶ He had quod I a good mynde & did lyke a good mā/þ deined all thyng to þ best. ¶ So say I to quod he. But how farr be folke fallen fro þ good mynde now. ¶ When be now a dayes waxen so full of mystrust/that sun man wold in fayth wene hys wyfe were noughte/yf he shuld but fynde her in bed wyth a pore frere. ¶ Forsothe ye be a wanton quod I. But yet in erneste how lyke you the chaunge of these wordys: ¶ Surely q

he very naught. And that yt was not well no: wysely done/ther wyl I trow no good wysc man deny. but yet why: ther hyches had in þ translaciō therof eny malycious purpose or not/therin wyl I till I se ferther play saynt frācys parte/and iudge the man no woys than the mater requyrethe. ¶ Fyfte quod I wolde ye that the boke shulde go forth and be red styll in that fassyō: ¶ Rayn goode saythe quod he that wold I not yf he ble yt so very often. ¶ With that word quod I ye hytte the nayle on the hed. For surely yf he chaūged the comen knowen word in to the better/I wolde well alowe yt. If he chaūgid it in to as good I wold suffer yt. yf iumwhat in to worse so he dyd yt selde I wolde wyne at hyt. But now whā he chaūgeth the known vsuall nameys of so grete thingis/in to so far the worse/and that not repeteth seldome/ but so oftē & so contynually inculketh/that almost in the hole boke hys lewde chaunge he neuer chaungeth/ in thys maner coulde no man deme other/but that the man ment myscheuouly/ scāt such a good sely soule as wolde wene all were well whan he found hys wyfe where ye sayd ryght now. yf he called charyte somtyme by the bare name of loue/I wolde not stykke therat. But now where as charyte sygnifyethe in englysh mennys eres/not euery comē loue/but a good vertuo⁹ and well ordede loue/he that wyl studiously flee fro that name of good loue/& alway speke of loue/& alway leue out good/I wolde surely say that he meanethe naughte. In good saythe quod he so is it not vnlykely. ¶ Than quod I when ye se more ye shall say it ys mych more than lykly. ¶ For now yt ys to be considered that at the tyme of thys translacyon hychens was wyth Luther in wyttenberge/and set certayne glosys in the mergent/framed for the setting so:the

The thyrd boke.

forth of þe vngacious sect. ¶ By saynt
Johñ quod your frende ys that be true
that Hyghens were at that tyme wth Lu
ther. it is a playne token þe he wrought
sumwhat after hys counsaile/and was
wyllynge to helpe hys maters for
warde here. But whyther Luthers
matters be so badde as they be made
for that shall we see hereafter. ¶ Very
true quod J. But as touchyng the con
federacye betwene Luther and hym/
is a thyng well knowen & playnly con
fessed/by suche as haue ben taken and
conuycted here of heresyse comyng fro
thence/and some of them sente hyther
to some that sede aboute here / and to
sende woꝛde hyther fro tyme to tyme
how yt sprāg. ¶ But now þe cause why
he chaunged the name of charyte & of
the chyrche and of presthed/is no very
grete dyfficulte to perceyue. For lithe
Luther and hys felowes amonge o
ther theyre damnable heresyse haue
one/that all our saluacyon standyth in
sayth alone/ and toward our saluacyō
nothyng e force of good woꝛkys / ther
fore yt seemeth that he laboreth of pur
pose to wynn the reuerent mynd þe
men bere to charyte / and therfore he
chaungeth that name of holy vertuo^s
affeccyon/in to the bare name of loue
comen to the vertuouse loue that man
terith to god/& to the lewd loue that is
bytweene flekke & his make. And for by
cause that Luther utterly denyeth the
very catholyque chyrche in crike / and
sayth that the chyrch of Crist is but an
vknownen congregacyon of sun folke
here.ii. & there.iii. no ma wot where ha
uyng the i pght sayth/whyche he calleth
onely hys owne new forgede saythe/
therfore Hyghens in the new testament
can not abyde the name of the chyrch/
but turneth it into the name of congre
gacyon/wyllynng that yt shuld seme to
englysh men/ eyther that Criste in the

gospell had neuer spoken of the chyrch/
or ellys that the chyrche were but such
a congregacyon as they myghte haue
occalyon to say/ that a congregacyon
of some such heretyques were þe chyrch
that god spake of. ¶ Now as to wchige
the cause why he chaunged the name of
preste in to senioꝛ/ye muste vnderstand
that luthere and his adherentys holde
thys heresyse/that all holy order ys no
thyng. And þe a prest is nothyng ellys/
but a man chosen among the peple to
preche/and that by that choyce to that
odyce he is preste by and by wythoute
eny moꝛe ado/ and no preste agayne
whan so euer the people chese a nother
in hys place/and that a prestys offyce
is no thyng but to preche. For as for
saynge masse and herynge of confessyō
and absolucyon theruppō to be geuen/
all thys he sayethe that euery man wo
man and childe may do as well as eny
preste. Now doth Hyghen therfore to
let to the thys opynyōn wythall after
hys masters heresyse putte away the
name of preste in hys translatyone/
as thoughe presthed were notyng.
where so euer the scripture speketh of
the prestys that were amonge the Jew
es/there dothe he in hys ttranslatyōn
call theym byll by the name of prestis.
But where so euer þe scripture speketh
of the prestys of Christis chyrche/there
doth he put away the name of prest in
hys translatyō/bycause he wold make
hys seme that the scripture dyd neuer
speke of eny prestys dyfferent froth ley
men amonge chrysten peple. And he
sayeth playnly in hys boke of obedyēce
that presthed and all holy orders amōg
chrysten peple be but faynyd inuētiōs/
& that prestys be nothyng but offycers
chosyn to preche/& þe all þe consecracion
wherby they be cōsecrate is not hyng
worth. And for this cause i all his tras
latyōn where so euer he speketh of the
the

the name of preest whych to vs in oure
own tōg hath alway sygnifyed an en-
oynted persō and wyth holy orders cō-
secrated vnto god/ he hath chaungede
in to the name of senyōr no worde of
our language/ but cyther bled halfe in
mockage whā we speke frēch in spōrte/
dicu vous garde senioz/ or at the ser-
dest nothyng betokenyng but elder.
So that yt ys ethe to se what he ment
in the turnyng of these namys. ¶ In
good fayth quod your frende it semeth
verily p̄ he ment not well. ¶ Surely
quod I ye wolde well say so yt ye sawe
all the placys whych I shall cause you
to se when ye wyll/ and ye shall soone
iudge theym your selfe. For yt were to
longe to reherse theym all now. For
these haue I not reherled you as for p̄
cheef/ but for p̄ they cā fyrst to mynde.
For ellis I myght shortly reherse you
many thyngys moo/ as farre owte of
te wne as these be. For he chaungeth
cōmenly the name of grace in to thys
worde sauour/ where as euery sauour
ys not grace in englyshe/ for in sū fa-
uour is there lytle grace. Confessyone
he traunslateth in to knowledgyng.
¶ Denauce in to repentaūce. A cōtryte
herte he chaūgeth i to a troubled hart.
And many mo thyngys lyke/ and many
terrys vntrewly traūlated for p̄ mayn-
tenaūce of heresye as I shall shew you
some when we loke in the boke. whych
thyngys we shall not now reson vppon
for they be not worthy to be brought i
questyone. But I telle you thys mych
onely for this cause/ p̄ ye may perceyue
that he hath thus bled hym selfe in hys
traunslacyone/ to the intent that he wold
sett for the luthers heresyas & hys owne
therby. For fyrst he wold make p̄ peple
beleue p̄ we shuld beleue nothyng but
playne scripture/ in whych poynt he te-
cheth a playne pestylent heresye. & then
wold he wyth hys false traūlacyō make

the peple wente ferther/ p̄ such artycles
of oure fayth as he laboꝛeth to destroy/
and which be well proued by holy scrip-
ture/ were in holy scripture nothyng
spoke of/ but p̄ p̄ prechors haue all this
xv. C. yere myll reported p̄ gospel and
englyshed p̄ scripture wꝛong/ to lede p̄
people purposely owte of p̄ ryght way.

The. ix. chaptyer.

¶ The authoꝛ sheweth a nother
grete token that the traunslaciō was
pyllous/ & made for a euyl purpose.

¶ To thetēt ye shall yet p̄ lesse
doute what good fruite was i-
sted by thys traūlacyō/ & easly iudge
your self whycher yt was well worthy
to be burned or not/ ye shall vnderstād
p̄ there hath be synnys p̄ tyme a nother
booke made in englysh & imprinted as
it sayeth i Almayne/ a folyshe rayling
boke agaynst p̄ clergye and miche parte
made in ryme/ but p̄ effect therof was
all agaynst p̄ masse & p̄ holy sacramēt.
In thys boke p̄ maker rayleth vppō all
them p̄ causyd Tyndals traūlacyon of
the new testamēt to be burned/ sayng
p̄ they burnyd it bicause p̄ yt destroyed
the masse. wherby ye may see that he re-
kenyd that traūlacyon very good for
theyr purpose toward p̄ destruccyō of
the masse. By saynt mary masse quod
your frend that boke is a shrewd glose
for p̄ tother. For yt shewed a cause for
whycher yt was well worthy to be bur-
nyd and the maker wyth yt/ yf yt were
made to destroye the masse. But who
made that seconde boke? ¶ For so. h. q.
I yt appereth not in the boke. For the
boke ys put for the namelesse/ and was
in the begynnyng rekened to be made
by Tyndall. And whycher yt so were
or not wee be not yet very sure. For
be yt syth that tyme Tyndall hath put
owte in hys owne name a nother boke
ētytled Māmona/ which boke is vere
māmona iniquitatis/ a very tresour
and

The thyrd boke.

and well spryng of wychednes. And yet hathe he sythens put forth a woꝛs also named the obedyence of a crysten man/a boke able to make a cryste man that wolde beleue yt/leue of all good crysten vertues and lese the meryte of hys crystendom. In the pꝛeface of hys fyrst boke callyd Hammona he saith þ one frere Hierome made þ tother boke that we talke of/whych frere Hierome gyuyng vp hys order of the frere obseruauntys cam to hym where he was/shewyng hym that he wold caste of his abyte and leue hys relygion/a assaye now to serue god/and that afterward he leste hym and wente vnto Roy/whych ys as I thynke ye knowe a nother appostyta/by wole counsaile Cyndale sayeth that the frere Hierome made þ boke/wherein Cyndall sayeth that he myslyketh hys crymys/and hys ouer mych raplyng. And sayeth also that he fereth lest frere Hierome shall not well proue all þ he promyseth in that boke. Why þ your frend is þ all the fere that he fyndeth in hym selfe and all the sawte that he fyndeth in þ frere and hys boke? Ye in good sayth quod I every whytte. What fyndethe he þ your frende no fault in hys apostasye. No more quod I than I shewe you. No fyndethe he quod your frēde no faulte in that the freres boke sayeth that the new testament of Cyndall was burnid bicause it stroyed þ masse? Neuer a whytte þ I more than you here. And fereth he quod your frend no thyng ellys but lest the frere shuld sayle of perfoꝛmyng of sum what þ his boke promysyth? That is all quod I And what he promysyth therein I sayth I remember not. But yt semeth what so euer yt be/Cyndall wolde yt were well perfoꝛmed. He had quod youre frende mych more cause as me thiketh so fere lest men shulde rehen hygh de-

saute in hys translacyon/in that he no thyng answered to those woꝛds of the freres boke/wherin he sayeth that þ new testament that was burnyd dyd dystroy the masse. Ye say quod I very trouth in my mynde/and so wold he of lyklyhed þ hym selfe had not mente as the frere sayd. But surely for the translacyon I shall shew you so many text in such wyse corruptede/that ye shall not I suppose greatly doute what he ment in hys doynge. And therewith all I shewyd your frēde a boke wyth þ placys redy notyd/whych booke I had by lycence a lityll befoꝛe lent vnto me for the nonys. wherein he saw so many corrupcyons/and of such maner soꝛte/that albeyt vppon some we somewhat relosed in the way/yet at the laste hym selfe sayd ho/and verely confesyd þ the boke in such wyse translated was very nought & nothyng metely to be red.

The .x. chapyter.

The authoꝛ shewyth þ þ translacyon of Cyndal was to bad to be mēded.

¶ Yet he sayd that the sawte myght be by su good mē amēdyd/ & than the boke pꝛytyd a-

gayn if nothing leited but þ. Surely quod I yf we go therto/ the sawtys be as ye se so many & so spred thꝛough the hole boke/that lyke wyse as yt were as sone done to weue a new web of clothe as to sowe vppon every hole in a net/so were it almost as litell labour and lesse to translate the hole boke all new/as to make in hys translacyon so many chaungys as nede muste be ere it were made good/besydys thys that there wold no wyse mā I trow take þ brede whych he well wist was of hys enemyes hand onts popsoned/though he saw his frend after scrape it neuer so clene.

The .xi. chapyter.

The

The messenger fyndeth fawte wth the clergye/ in þe sayth they haue made a constytucion prouyncyall þe no byble in englysh shold be suffred. And in thys chappeter incydently þe messenger mych reproueth þe luyng of the clergye. wherunto þe autho^r somwhat sheweth his mynd/ deffertynge for the whyle hys answer to thobpccyon made agaynst the constytucion.

So quod your frende I wyll not gretely styke with you in that poynt. But surely the thyng þe maketh in this mater the clergye most suspect/ and wherin as yt seemeth yt wolde be full hard to excuse theym/ is this/ that they not onely dāpne Cyndals translation (wherin there is good cause) but ouer that do dampne all other/ as though a lay man were no crysten man/ wyll suffer no ley man haue eny at all. But whan they fynde eny in hys keepyng/ they lay heresye to hym therfore. And theruppon they burne hys boke and somtyme the good man wythall/ alledgyng for the defence of theyr doynge a lawe of theyr owne making a constytucion prouyncyall/ wherby they haue prohybited that eny man shall haue eny vppon payn of heresye. And thys is a lawe very prouyncyall/ for yt holdeth but here. For i all other cuntrees of chrystēdome the people haue the scripture traslated i to theyr owne tong/ and the clergye ther fyndeth no suche fawte therein. wherfore eyther our people is worste of all people/ or ellys our clergye is worste of all clergyes. But by my trowth for aught that I can se here or perceue by them that haue bene els where/ our ley peple be as good as honeste as be eny where.

And yf eny be other wyse/ thoccalyon and exemple cometh of the clergye/ amonge whome we se myche more byce thā among our selfe. wher as they shold gyue vs erample of vertue and þe lyght of lernyng/ now theyr examples what they be we see. And as for lernyng/ they neyther wyll teche vs but selde/ and that shal be but such thyng as pleasech theym som gloses of theyr own making/ nor suffer vs to lerne by our selfe/ but by theyr constytucō pull Crystys gospel out of crysten peoples handys. I can not well se why but lest we shold se the trowth. The Jewes be not letted to red theyr law both lerned and lewd. And yet are there in the old testament thyngys for vnlearned folke fatte more straunge and peryllous thā in the new. And why sholde than our ley men be forboden the gospel/ but yf they wyll make vs worse than Jewes. wherin I can in good faith se no scule they can fynde. For the scripture is to good folk þe nourysher of vertue/ and to theym that be naught yt is the meane of amendement. And therfore whyle the clergye doth wythdrowe it vs/ yf our soules be in good helth/ they take awaye our fode/ yf our soules be syke they take away þe medecyne. And therfore as I sayd the fault is not in þe dampnyng of Cyndals traslacyō/ but in that they haue by an expresse lawe forboden that we shold haue eny at all. Your wordys quod I be somwhat poyznaūt and sharpe. But surely theyr ys somwhat more thz men than the mater. For where ye towche in effecte two thyngys/ one the constytucion prouyncyall by whych ye thynke the clergye of thys realme haue euill prohybited all traslacyōs of scripture in to our

The thyrd boke.

our tonge / a nother the bycrs of þe cler
gre in generall / the fyrst poynt whych
indede to dotheth our mater / I can and
wyl wryth fewe wordys answer you.
But as for þe other whych toucheth the
men / as where ye accuse the clergie in
theyr psons of very bycious lyving as
me mych worse thā ye say that we be /
and yet as though theyr owne faultys
were to few / charge theym wryth ours
to / wherof ye call theym the cause / in
thys poynt wyl I kepe no scolys wryth
you / nor entre in to dyspricions therof /
nor gladly medle wryth the mater. For
as I told you in the begynnyng (yth
we talke but of mennys lernynge / I
wyl not medle of mennys lyvinge /
nor in þe treatyng of thys mater eyther
praysse or dyspraysse eny mānys maner /
except some such as are for theyr here-
syces & euyl doctryne cast out of Cryst-
chyrch / and thzough all Crystendome
dampned & dysfamed all redy by theyr
owne obstynate malysce. But yet wher
ye speke of other contrees / makynge an
argumēt that our clergie is the worst
of all other / I wote well þe hole world
is so wyched that spryptuall and tem-
porall euery where all be bad ynoughe
god make vs all better. But yet for þe
I haue my selfe sene / and by credyble
folke haue herd / lyke as ye say by oure
temperalyte that we be as good and
as honest as eny where elles / so dare I
boldely saye that the spryptuallte of
englande / and specially that parte in
whyche ye fynde most faute / that is to
wytte that parte whyche we comenly
call the secular clergie / is in lernynge
& honest lyving well able to mache &
(sayng þe coparysōs be odyo^r I wold
saye fether) far able to ouer matche
number for nobet the spryptuallte of

eny nacyon crysten. I wote well there
be therin many very lewde & naught.
And surely wher so euer there is a mul-
titude / yt is not without myracle wel
possyble to be otherwysle. But now yt þe
bysshoppys wolde onys take vnto prest-
hed better ley me and fewer (for of vs
be they made) all the mater were more
than half amēded. Now where ye saye
that ye se more vyce in theym than in
our selfe / trouth yt is that euery thyng
in theym is gretter / bycause they be
more bounden to be better. But ellys
the thyngys that they mysdo / be þe self
same that we synne in our selfe which
bycrs that as ye say we se more in thē
than in our selfe / þe cause ys I suppoſe /
for we loke more vppon theyr thā on
our own / and fare as Esop sayth in a
fable / that euery mā carryeth a dooble
walet on hys sholder / & in to the tone
that hangeth at his breste he putteth
other folkys faultys / and theri be too
teth and pozeeth often / In the tother
he layeth vp all hys owne and stow-
geth yt at hys backe / whyche hym self
neuer lyteth to loke in / but other that
cū after hym cast an eye in to yt amōg.
Wold god we were all of the mynde þe
euery mā thought no man so badde as
hym self. For þe were the waye to mend
bothe theym and vs. Now they blame
vs / and we blame thē / and both blame
wozthy / and eyther parte more redy to
fynde others faultys than to mende
theyr owne. For in reproche of thē we
be so studious / that neyther good nor
bad passeth vnreproued. If they be fa-
mylper we call them lyght. If they be
solytary we call them fantastike. If
they be sadde we call them solempne.
If they be mery we call them madde.
If they be cūpygnable we call them
bycous.

bycoule. of thys be hely we call them
 yppocrytys. of they kepe few seruau-
 tys we call them nyggardys. If they
 kepe many we call them pompose. If
 a lewde preste do a lewd dede than we
 say/lo se what sample the clergye gy-
 ueth vs/ as though that preste were y
 clergye. But than forgete we to loke
 what good men be therein/ and what
 good counsaile they gyue vs/ & what
 good example they shewe vs. But we
 fare as do the rauens and the caren
 crowys that neuer medyll wyth eny
 quicke fleshe. But where they maye
 fynde a dede dogge in a dyche/therto
 they fle and theron they fede apace.
 So where we se a good man/and here
 or se a good thyng/there we take lytell
 hede. But whan we see onys an euill
 dede/theron we gaze/therof we talke
 and fede oure selfe all daye wyth the
 fylthy delyte of euill comynycacyon.
 Lette a good man preche/ a shorte ta-
 le shall serue vs.therof/and we shall
 nether myche tegerde hys exhorta-
 cyon nor hys good example. But lete
 a lewde lere be taken wyth a wench/
 we wyll geste and sayle hypon the ho-
 le ozder all the yere after/and saye
 lo what sample they grue vs. And
 yet whan we haue sayde/ we wyll
 folowe the same/ And than saye that
 we lerne y of theym/forgettynge
 that we lyte not to here and folowe
 some othe/ whose word and dede wold
 gyue vs lyghte to do better yf we ly-
 stede as well to lette the bettes as to
 to folowe the worse. ¶ In dede quod
 he bycawse re speke of lyghte/ they
 saye that yf a woman be saye than
 ys she yonge/ and yf a preste be good
 than he ys olde. But yet haue I seene

a preste gyuen lyghte to the people
 that was but very yonge. ¶ Mary
 quod I god forbode ellys/ ye maye se
 that often and ye wyll. ¶ Crewly
 quod he yt ys pytye that we see suche
 lyghte so selde/ beyng. thys wretched
 woulde in suche darkenesse as yt ys.
 For I neuer sawe yt but onys. For
 as yt semede fewe of the people ney-
 ther. For in saythe they wondred as
 faste theron as though they hadde
 neuer sene yt byfore. ¶ Howe happed
 that quod I. ¶ Mary quod he yt hap-
 ped that a yonge preste very deuoutely
 in a processyon/ bare a candell byfore
 the crosse/ for lyenge wyth a wench/ &
 bare yt lyghte all the longe waye.
 Wherein the people toke suche spyry-
 tuall pleasure and inwarde solace/
 that they lauhged a pace. And one
 mery marchaunte sayde vnto the pre-
 stys that folowed hym/ Sic luceat
 lux vestra coram hominibus. Thus
 lette your lyghte shyne afoze the peo-
 ple. ¶ Forsothe quod I yt were pytye
 but that an euill preste were punys-
 shed. But yet yt ys as myche pytye
 that we take suche a wretched pleasure
 in the herynge of theyre synne/ and in
 the lyghte of theyre shame. Good ys
 yt for theym to loke on theyre saw-
 tys/ but for vs were yt better to loke
 lesse to theyys and more vnto oure
 owne. But surely many of vs haue
 suche delyte to here of theyre harne/ y
 yt semeth we be gladd whan one of
 theym dothe any suche thyng/ as we
 may haue occalyon to se them punys-
 shed or had in deryspo. whych wretched
 appetyte & synfull affectyō yt ys mych
 worse & myche more worthy the curse
 of god/ than the lewde mynde of Cam
 whych

The thyrde bok e.

whych he fell in to the curse of hys father. For that he made a gaudie & shewed forth in skorne the secreete members of hys father / that of aduerture lay and slepte vncouered / whych partyes Sem and Japhet the blessed chydren currently couered / goynge backward to hym because they wold not se hym. And surely we haue lytell cause to laugh at theyr lewdnesse. For vndoubtedly of the clergie be nought we must nedys be woler / as I herde onys myster Colect the good deane of powys preche. For he sayde that yt can be none other / but that we muste euer be one degree vnder theym. For surely as he sayde yt can be no lye that our saupoure say the hym selfe / whych say the of theym that they be salt of the erthe. And yt saie onys apalle / the world muste nedys waite vnsauery. And he sayth that they be the lycht of the world. Add then yt the lycht sayth he be dacked / how darke wyl than the darknesse be / that ys to wytte all the world bynde / wherof he called the clergie onely the lycht. Howe be yt though there be bothe amonge vs and theym many very naughte / whose faultys be neyther the faultys of the temporalte nor of the spiritualte / but of those lewde persones them selfe / yet are I truste neyther theyre parte nor our come to that poyn / but that there be many good men amonge vs / and as for amonge theym I wote nere whyther I maye saye many mo or not / but surely I thynke many better. I seve me quod your frende that those many be very few in comparyson of the multitude. I can not quod I loke in to theyr hartys to se who is good and who ys badde / nor haue the lycht of they

were all knowen to go about and tell theym by the pollys / to se whych syde were the moze. And therfore in the meane whyle I truste in god the better parte ys the gretter. Howe be yt yt there were in dede amonge theym be, ry fewe / yet thynke I verily that for those fewe all the world fareth the better / and ys in theyre vertus and prayer by goddys grete metty maynteyned and vpholden / as we fynde in scripture placys mo than one / declaringe playnely the profyts that an hole synfull cytie or some tyme an hole regyon / taketh by the prayer of a fewe godly men. And no dowte ys there but lyke wyle as he that ys in the clergie noughte / ys farre the woler because he ys therein / so he that there in ys good / ys for hys clergie very farre the better / and hys prayer to god for hym selfe & all other farre the moze auaylable.

The .xii. chapyter.

The authoz toucheth one speciall prerogatyve that we haue by a priesse be he neuer so badde / in that hys naughtyness can not take from vs the profyts of hys masse. wher vpon ys by the messenger moued a dowte / whycher yt were better to haue fewe priesys and better worthewet masse / or mo goddys for to haue the mo masses. wher vnto the authoz answereth.

And be a priesse neuer so naughte / shall be yt that he do some waye myche harme bothe to hym selfe and other / yet this aduantage take we by the pryuylege and prerogatyue of hys prestehode besyde the mynistryc of the sacramentys vnto vs / the goodnes

goodnesse wherof hys nowghtynesse can not appayze / that be he neuer so bycroule and therwytch so impenyntent and so farre frome all putpote of amende-ment / that hys prayers were afoze the face of god reiectred and abhoyred / yet that sacred sacryfyce and swete oblacyon of Crystys holy bodye offered vppre by hys offyce / can take none em- paynyng by the fylthe of hys synne / but hyghly helpeth to the vpholdyng of thys wretched worlde frome the vengeaunce of the wyathe of god / and ys to god as acceptable and to vs as auaylable for the thyngge yt selfe / as though yt were offered by a better mā / though he percase hys prayers ioynded therwytch neyther mych profyte other / nor the oblacyon hym selfe / as wytch whom god ys the moze gretely greued / in that beyng so badde he dur- ste presume to toweche yt. ¶ Whar quod your frende yf thys be thus I mtruable than why ye sayde ryghte now that yt were good to make fewer prestys / that they myght be taken o- nely of the better / and the worse refu- sed. For yf they masses be so good for vs be theym selfe neuer so naughte / than semeth yt better for vs to make yet mo though they were yet worse / yf we myght haue mo massys. ¶ That reason quod I wyll not holde. For though god of hys goodnesse how bad so euer the preste be / well accepteth y oblacys of Crystys holy body for other folke / yet ys he wytch that prestys pre- sumpcyon hyghly dyscontented. And we neuer ought to seke our own cōmo- dyte wytch our neyghbours harme. And also we shold of our dute to god / rather forbere y profyte y our selfe myght at- tayne by a masse / thā to se his maieste

dyscontented / by y bold presumpcyon of of such an odvroule mynster as he hath forbidden to come about hym. Lyke as yf ye sent a pient vnto a pynce whych were very pleasaunt vnto hym / though y messenger mych myllpact hym so far yf he had be forbidden y court / yet yf ye were not ware therof / your gyft could not lese his thak / but his malepert bol- denes myght paduenture be punysshed and well were worthy to be. But on yf tother syde yf ye knewe the messenger for suche as the pynce wolde not haue come at hym / ye wold rather kepe your present at home and forbere the thake / than wryttingly to sende yt by suche a messenger / oz ellys though your pre- sent were very gte / your thake wold be very lytell. And surely in lyke ma- ner wyse who so surely knoweth a preste to be naught / bycroule / and in dedely dyspleasure of god / sholde gete I thynke lytel thanke yf he made hym saye masse. And therfore well shall the prelats do / as myche as they maye to proude / that god shall ra- ther be moze seldome presented wytch the pleasaunte present of the masse / than moze often offended wytch a dys- pleasaunte messenger. And verily were all the bysshoppes of my mynde (as I knowe some that be) ye sholde not of prestys haue the plente that ye haue. The tyme hath ben whan there were very fewe in a grete cytye / and in a monastery of fyue hundred in one howse / scantely wold there foute monkys be bolde to be prestys. Than was all holy orders in hyghe honoure. Than fynde we that the de- gre of a deken was a grete thyng and of such dygnyte / that whan one of the wente sometyme in pylgrymage / he wold

The thyrde boke.

wolde not be aknowen of hys ozder/
 bycause he wolde not that folke sholde
 do hym woꝛshyppe in the waye. But
 as for now a dayes yf he be deco and
 preste to / he shall nede to fere no suche
 pryde / but rather rebuke and bylany.
 which though yt haue happened by the
 lacke of vertue amonge theym / and be
 cay of deuocyon amonge vs / yet hath
 myche of all thys gere growen by the
 meane of so grete a nomber of prestys
 & so famylper among vs. whych thyng
 nedys must mynysshe on our parte reue
 tence and estymacyon toward theym /
 whych we neuer haue but in thyngs
 rare & scarce. Golde wold we not let by
 yf yt were as comē as chalke or clay.
 And wherof is there now such plentie
 as of prestys. ¶ In fayth q he there is
 moze plentie of prestys thā of good mē /
 & ther be to many but yf they were bet
 ter cholen. ¶ Doubtesse q there wold
 be moze dyligēce bled in y choyce / not
 of they lernyng onely / but mych moze
 specially of they lyuynge. For wyth
 out vertue the better they be lerned y
 woꝛse they be / sayyng that lernyng is
 good stoz agaynst god sende the grace
 to mende. Whych ellys yt wold be thā
 happely to late to loke for / specially yf
 y prouerbe were true that ye spake of /
 that yf a preste be good than he is olde.
 But thys ys a very suretyre that yt ys
 not well possyble to be wythout many
 very naught of that company / wherof
 there is suche a maygne multytude.
 The tyme was as I say / whan fewe
 men durst presume to take bypon them
 the hyghe offyce of a preste / not euen
 whā they were cholen and called ther
 vnto. Now conneeth cuery rascall and
 boldely offceyth hym self for able. And
 where the dregnyte passethal pynceys /

and they that letod be / desyꝛeth yt for
 woꝛldely wyynyng / yet cometh that
 sozte therto wyth such a made mynde /
 that they reken almost god mych boſt
 den to theym that they bouchelaufe to
 take yt. But were I pope. ¶ By my
 soule quod he I wold ye were / and my
 lady your wyfe popesse to. ¶ Well q I
 than shold the deupse for nonnes. And
 as for me to wychnge the choyce of pre
 stys / I wolde not well deupse better
 prouysions than are by the lawes of
 the chyrche prouyded all redy / yf they
 were as well kept as they be well ma
 de. But for the nomber / I wold surely
 se suche a way therein / that we sholde
 not haue suche a rabell / y euerly meane
 man must haue a preste in hys house to
 wayte bypon hys wyfe / whych no mā
 all most lacketh now / to the contempt
 of prested in as hyle offyce as hys
 hoꝛse keper. ¶ That is quod he trowth
 in dede and in woꝛse to / for they kepe
 hauk and doggys. And yet me semeth
 surely a moze honeste seruyce to wayte
 on an hoꝛse than on a dogge. And yet
 I suppose yf the lawes of the chyrche
 whych the Luther and Tyndall wolde
 haue all broken were all well obser
 ued and kept / thys gere sholde not be
 thus / but the nombꝛe of prestys wold
 be myche mynysshed and the remanaūt
 mych the better. For yt is by the lawes
 of the chyrche prouyded to the entent
 no preste sholde vnto the sleaunder of
 prestedde be dzeuen to lyue in suche
 lewde maner or woꝛse / there sholde
 none be admytted vnto prested / vn
 tyll he haue a tytell of a suffreyent
 yterely lyuynge / eyther of hys owne
 pattymony or other wyse. For at thys
 daye they be none otherwyse accepted.
 ¶ Whych quod he wherfoze go there thā
 so many

so many of them a beggynge. ¶ **¶** Mary quod I for they delude the law and the selfe also. For they neuer haue graunt of a lypunge that maye serue them in syght for þe purpose/ but they secretlye dyscharge yt ere they haue yt/ or elles they coulde not gete yt. And thus the bysshop is blynded by the syght of the wyrtynge/ & the preste goth a beggynge for all hys graunt of a good lypunge/ and the law is deluded/ and the order is retuked by the prestys beggynge and lewde lypunge/ whiche eyther is fayne to walke at couers and lye hypon tentalles or worse/ or elles to serue in a secular mānys house/ whiche shold not nede yt thys gappe were stoped. For yt sholde haue prestys fewe ynough yf þe law were truly obserued that none were made/ but he that wote wythout colusyon sure of a lypunge all redy. ¶ **¶** Chan myght yt hap quod he yf yt myght haue to fewe to serue the roynys and lypungys yf be prouyded for them except/ the prelatys wolde prouyde that orders were not so comenly gyuen/ but alway receyue in to orders as roynys & lypunge fall boorde to bystowe them in and no faster. ¶ **¶** Surely quod I for aught I se sodaynly/ that wold not be myche amysse. For so shold they nede no such tytles at al nor shold nede neyther con at couers/ nor lye in lay mennys howles/ by reason wherof there groweth among no lytle corrupcyon in the prestys maners/ by the conuersacyon of lay people & company of women in theyr howles. ¶ **¶** Nay by our lady quod he I wyl not agree wyth you therin. For I thynke they cā not lyghtly mete wyth mych worse company than them selfe/ and that they rather corrupt vs than we them.

The. xiii. chappter.

¶ **¶** The messenger moueth yf yt wold do well yf prestys shold haue wyrys wherunto þe authoz maketh answer. ¶ **¶** But I wold wene it wold amēd mych pte of this mater/ yf they myght haue wyrys of theyre owne. ¶ **¶** Mary qd I so sayth luther & Tyndal also/ sayng yf they go sū what farther forth. For Tyndal (whose bookys be nothig els i effect but yf worst heresy es pyked out of Luthers workys/ & Luthers worst word translated by Tyndal/ & put forth in Tyndals own name) doth in his rātyke boke of obedyēce (wherin he rayleth at large agaynst all popes/ agaynst all kyngs/ agaynst all prelatys/ all prests/ all relygyous/ all the lawes/ all the sayntys/ agaynst the sacramētyes of Cryst/ chrych/ al agaynst vertuous workys/ agaynst all dyuine seruryce/ and fynally agaynst all thyng in effecte yf good is) in that boke I say Tyndal holdeth yf prest must haue wyrys. And yf he groundeth wyfely yf yf wordys of saynt Doule/ where he wyrteth to Thimotheus/ *Opus est tibi inuicibilem vniuersis potius virum.* That a bysshop must be a mā vnreprocheable/ and yf husbāde of one wyfe. And that yt muste be considered whether he haue well brought vp hys chyldren/ and well gouerned hys housholde. By these wordys doth Tyndal after Luthers conclude for a playn mater/ that prestys must nedys haue wyres/ and that saynt Doule wold there shold in no wyse be none other prestys but marped folke. Is yt not now a wonder wyth what spectacles Luthers and Tyndal haue spyed thys thyng now in these wordys of saynt Doule. In whiche of so many grete conynge taryers

The thyrde boke.

thers and holy sayntys as haue often
redde/and depely cōsidered these woꝝ-
dys befoze/there was neuer none that
had eyther the wytte oz the grace to p-
ceyue that grete specyall cōmaundemēt
thys.xb. C. yere/ tyll now y god hathe
at last by reuelacyō shewed thys hygh
secrete mystery to these. ii. goodly crea-
tures Luther and Tyndall/ lest that
holy frere shold haue lost his marriage
of that holy nonne/and Tyndall some
good marriage that I thynke hym to
warde. Tyndall nothing answereth in
his boke to that poynt/ but cōneth and
capleth ouer wythout resōn/and sayth
that the scripture ys playne therein foz
hym. And euer he passeth ouer as though
he herd it not that al the holy doctours
that euer were in Cryst chyrch/ sayen
that the scripture whych he alledgeth
to be very playn foz him/ is very playn
agaynst hym as it is in dede. foz saynt
poule in that place/ foz as mych as yet
at that tyme excepte none but yong mē
shold haue bē prest/ which he thought
not comenly conuenient/ ellys coude
they make no prestys then/ but suche as
eyther were oz had ben maryed/ ther-
foze thapostle hauing in the choyse of
prestys a specyall respecte to chastyte/
and wyllyng to go as nere to no wyfe
as myght be/ dyd oꝝdayne as god had
instructed hym/ that who so euer shold
be admytted to presthed/ sholde be the
hulband of one wyfe. Meanyng suche
as then had oz byfoze had had no mo
but one/ & that neuer had had twayn.
He meaned not as mad Luther & Tyndall
wold now make the world so mad
to byleue that a prest must nedys haue
one/ noz that he may neuer lacke one/
noz y he may haue one after a nother/
noz the onely fozbyddyng of twain at

onys/ but he ment only that non shold
be admytted to presthed but onely such
a man as neuer had had noz shold haue
but onely one. whych ys the thyng y
euer was & hath bene by thole woꝝdys
vnderstanden. And not onely where
saynt Dowle taught/ but also thozwo
crystendome/ where the other apostles
planted the fayth/ hath yt euer ben so
obserued. whych is a playne pꝛofe that
concernyng the pꝛophyryon/ of eny
mo wyfys then one/ and the fozbydig
of bygamy by y wedding of one wyfe
after a nother/ was the specyall oꝝdy-
naunce of god/ and of saynt Dowle.
whose epystles wherin he wyrteth eny
thyng of thys mater/ was peraduen-
ture not comen to the handys of other
apostles/ whan they toke yet the same
oꝝder by the same spryte that taught
yt hym. foz thys is certayn that euer &
euery where in crystendom the byga-
my of two wyfes eche after other/ hath
ben a let and impedymēt agaynst the
the takyng of holy oꝝders/ and hath
of long tyme ben a let/ though the tone
wyfe had ben maryed and buryed by-
foze the mannys baptysme. And now
these two wyse men agaynst the olde
holy fathers and connyng doctours/ &
agaynst y cōtynual custome of Cryst
chyrch so many hūdyed yeres bygone/
and conpnyed by the spryte of god/
haue spꝛed at last y saynt Dowle sayth
and meaneth that a prest maye marye
twoys & haue one wyfe after a nother
and that he must so haue. foz by Tyndall
a prest must euer haue one wyfe at
y lest. And surely yf we leue y trow vnder-
standyng of saynt Dowlys woꝝd/
and byleue Tyndall/ that yt ys there
ment and cōmaunded bycause of thys
woꝝde oꝝpꝛet/ that a prest must haue
one

one/then may Tyndall as for y place
tell vs that a prest ys at lybertye to ha
ue twa yne at onys or twenye and he
wyl/bpcauole saynt Dowle saythe no
more but that the bysshop muste be the
husband of one wyfe. whych wordys
Tyndall maye tell vs be vercyfyed/ yf
he be y husband of .x. wyfys. For y hus-
band of .x. wyfys were y husbād of one/
as y father of ten chylidren is y father
of one/ yf y wyfys were as copatyble
as y chylidre be/ as it is/ no dout but Lu-
ther and Tyndall wold some make the
by scripture/ yf they owne interpreta-
cyō may be taken for authoryte/ agayst
the perceyving that god hath gyven to
all good crysten people this. xv. C. yere
Now as I say vppō Tyndals takyng
saie Dowle shold mene/ not that a preste
sholde haue but one wyfe (for y but is
not i saie Dowle word) but he sholde
mene y a preste muste haue one at the
leste/ as though saie Dowle had leuer y
y preste had .xx. saue for ouerchargyng.
yet yf semeth that Tyndall so take yt
in dede/ and that a preste might haue
dyuers wyues at onys/ specyally for
the grete reason that he setteth therco.
For where as saynt Dowle sayth there
was at that tyme lytel choyse to make
preste of but maried men/ wylled ther
fore that in the choyse of the bysshoppe
there shold be consydered howe he had
gouerned hys owne howsehold/ by-
cause he that had mystratched his wyfe
and hys chylidren/ were vnmete for a
gret cure/ therfore sayth Tyndal that
neuer shold ther eny preste be made/ but
but such as hath a wyfe and chylidren
by the gouernance of theym shewed/
y he is mete to bere a rule/ as though
we neuer saw eny man that neuer had
wyfe/ gouerne an howseholde better thā

many that haue had fyue. And yf the
haupng a good rulyng of a wyfe be so
specyall a pfofe of a man mete to be a
preste as Tyndall taketh yt/ then syth
saynt Dowle after Tyndals interpre-
tacyon can not appere to forbede the
haupng of dyuers wyues togyder/ best
were yt after Tyndall specyally to
make that man a preste that had many
wyues and all at onys/ and many chyl-
idren by ethe of theym/ yf he gude the
all well. For more pfofe is it of a wyfe
gouernoure to rule well fyue wyues/
than one/ a fourty chylidre then foure.
But now that euery chylde may se the
wyldom of Tyndall and hys mayster
Luther in the constructyō of holy scrip-
ture/ wherof he speketh so myche and
vnderstandeth so lyrell/ I beseeche you
consyder lyke wordys of saynt Dowle
in a myche lyke mater. Saynt Dowle
as he wyrteth to Thimotheus that a
bysshop must be y husband of one wyfe/
so wyrteth he also to him/ y no wydow
shold be specyally chosen and taken in
to be founde of y goodes of the chyche
that were yonger then .lx. yere/ and y
she shold be one that had ben the wyfe
of one husbāde. Nowe set these two
textys togyder of the bysshop and the
wydowe/ and consyder the wordys of
one wyfe in the tone/ and one husbād
in the tother yf we shal after Tyndal
take the tone wordys for the bysshop/ y
saynt Dowle shold meane not that he
haue or haue had but one wyfe/ but y
he must nedys haue one wyfe/ than
must we lyke wyse take the word spō-
ken by saynt Dowle of the wydowe/
as though saynt Dowle sholde meane
not a wydowe whych had neuer had
mo than one husbāde/ but a wydow y
had had one husbāde/ as though saynt
poule

The thyrd boke.

Doule had nothyng fered noz fozbode/
 but lest Timotheus shold take in such
 a wydow as neuer had no husbände at
 all. wtere not thys wysely construed.
 Now yf Tyndall wyll agree as he ne
 dys must but yf he be mad / that saynt
 Doule in gyuyng cōmaundemēt that
 the wydow sholde be suche as had had
 one husbānd / ment therby such one as
 neuer had had mo than one / thē muste
 he nedys graunt and hys mayster Lu
 ther to / that saynt Doule in lyke wyse
 whete he sayde that a bysshop must be a
 good man and y husbānd of one wyfe /
 ment that he must neuer haue noz haue
 had eny mo than one . And not that he
 must nedys haue one / oz that he must
 haue one at the leste / and myght haue
 many mo than one / eyther eche after
 other oz all togyder and he lyst. And in
 thys mater hathe Tyndall no shyfte.
 For sythe thys worde one in one wyfe
 and one husbānd / was not by saynte
 Doule set in foz nought. It must ned
 sygnifye eyther that there sholde be no
 mo but one / oz that there sholde be one
 at the leste. yf he shold mene that a bys
 shop sholde haue one wyfe at the leste /
 and that the wydowe sholde haue had
 one husbānd at the leste / than wolde
 he rather that they shold haue mo than
 so fewe / whyche euery man seeth how
 folysshe that construccyon is. Now yf
 Tyndall wyll say that by thys worde
 one / saynt Doule ment there shold be
 but one wyfe at onys and one husbānd
 at onys / thā dyd saynt Doule so speke
 of the bysshop as though he had sayd /
 a bysshop must be a good man and haue
 but one wyfe at on . In whych word
 Tyndall had losse hys purpose . For so
 were onely a prohybycyon foz eny mo
 than one / and no cōmaundement but a

bare permyssyon foz one. And yet were
 yt ytell to purpose / foz in saynt Dou
 lys dayes a lay man had but one wyfe
 at onys. And the foly of thys construc
 cyon appereth in the wordys spoken of
 saynt Doule in y chowle of the wydow /
 wherin Tyndall wolde by thys waye
 make saynt Doule to say thus. Take
 these in but such a wydow as hath had
 but one husbānd at onys / as thonghe
 the gyle were in his days that wyrys
 myght haue two husbāndys at onys.
 ¶ In sayth quod your frend I thynke
 saynt Doule ment not so. For thē had
 wyrys ben in his time lytel better thā
 grasse wydowes be now . For they be
 yet as seuerall as a barbour schayre / &
 neuer take but one at on . ¶ In sayth
 quod I the foly of suche folke doth wel
 appere that seke in y scripture of god
 suche newe construccions agaynst the
 very sence that god hathe thys . xij . c .
 yere so taught his hole chyrche / that ne
 uer was there pope so coueptous yet y
 durst dyspence in this popne / seyng the
 consent of Crystys chyrche so full and
 hole there in / and the mynde of saynt
 Doule so clere to suffice onely one wyth
 btter exclucion of eny mo than one / y
 who so euer wold construe hyin other
 wyse / must nedys fall in to suche open
 folyes as Tyndall & Luther do . And
 thus se se how substantiually Tyndal
 and hys mayster cōstrue the scripture /
 & wyth what authoryte they conferme
 thys noble newe doctryne of theys / by
 whych they wold cōdempne all Cryst
 dom as bzekers of the lawe of god / & s
 lōge as they suffer not any prest to be
 a wyfe / oz rather as longe as they suf
 fer hym to be wythout a wyfe . For wy
 ues they must nedys haue by Tyndals
 tale whyther they wyl oz no. ¶ By my
 trouth

trouth quod your frende yt Tyndall & Luther haue none other holde thā that place of saie poule / they be lykely to take a fall. But I thik they say more thā that. ¶ Surely quod I Tyndall hath a nother reason in dede. He sayth that chastyte is an excedig seledome gyfte / and vncastyte excedyng perylous for that estate. And theron he concludeth that prestys muste nedes haue wyues. But now what yt a man wolde deny hym though chastyte be a grete gyfte / y^e pet yt is a seledome gyfte. For though yt be rare and seledome in respecte of y^e remanaūte of the people that haue yt not / pet is yt not seledome in dede / for many men haue yt. And Cryst sayth y^e al mē take it not / but he sayth not that no man taketh yt / nor that fewe men take yt. And hyghly he cōmēdeth them that for hys sake do take yt. What incōuenyence is yt than to take in to his specciall serupce men of that sorte that he moste speccially cōmēdeth. Or yf we graūted to Tyndal that fewe men can lyue chaste / whych is playne false (for many hath done & doth) but now yf we dyd I saye graūte hym y^e thynge / though he myght paduenture therby cōclude / y^e there shold not be so many prestys made and bounden to chastyte as coulde not lyue chaste / pet coulde he not cōclude as he now cōcludeth / that no preste shold be suffred to lyue chaste / but that euery preste muste nedes haue a wyfe. For thys is hys argumēt. Few mē cā lyue chaste / ergo euery preste must take a wyfe. yf we shold impugne the fourme of thys argument / Tyndall wolde cāple and saye we medle woth sophystre / and wyle men wolde say we were Idely occupied to labour to shew that soly y^e so euidently sheweth

yt selfe. And therfore we shal lette his wyle argument alone / syth yt suffyeth vs that euery man y^e any wytte hath / may well se that vppon hys vntreasonable reason / one of two thyngeis must nedes folowe / eyther y^e Cryste in cōmēdyng pretuall chastyte / dyd cōmēde a thynge not cōmēdable / or elles yf euery preste must nedys haue a wyfe / thā were yt not laufull to make a preste of that sorte y^e ys of god^s owne mouth cōmēded. ¶ Surely quod your frende me thynke they go fette therin to say y^e prestys must ned^e haue wyues. But me thynke that thys they myght well say and I to / that yt is not well done to bynde theym woth a lawe / that they shal haue none / but yt may be well done to suffer theym haue wyues that wolde as they haue in walys. And I here say that in Allmaygne they fynde grete ease therin. For lyke as here the good wyfe kepeth her husbād from her maydys / so there the persons wyfe kepeth her husbād from all the wyues in the parryshe. ¶ As for walys quod I be wronge enformed / for wyues haue they not. But trouth yt is y^e incōuynēce is there in some place lytell loked vnto / wherof myche harme groweth in y^e cuntrye. And as for Allmaygne suche parte therof as that is bled in / whych is onely where Luthers secte is receyued / who so consyder well what cōmodyte hath cūmen to theym by such vngodly wayes / I thynke shal haue no grete fantysye to folow theym. ¶ Well quod he lette walys and Allmaygne go / pet preste had wyues of olde whē they were better thā they be now. And pet haue in grece where they be better than they be here. ¶ As for the prestys of grece I wyll not dyspraple theym quod

The thyrd boke.

quod I / for I knowe theym not. But somewhat was not well there / that god hath suffred all that empyze to fall in to herthen mennys hand. And yet be they not there so lose as ye reken theym. For though a wedded mā taken there in to the clergye be not noz can be put frome hys wyfe / but is there suffred to mynster in the offyce of a preste not wstandynge hys marriage / yet yf he be bimaried at the tyme that he taketh prestehed / he than professeth perpetual contynence / and neuer marpeth after / as I haue lerned by suche as haue comen frome thense. ¶ Now where ye speke of olde tyme / surely ye shall vnderstand that there maried not so many as ye wold happely wene. ¶ Peradventure quod he no moze there wold now. Some of the wold haue no wyrys though þ law were set at large. For as a good felow sayd onys to hys frendys þ metuayled why he maried not / and thought hym unnatural yf he cared not for þ cōpany of a woman / he sayd vnto the þ he had leuer lese a synger thā lacke a woman. But he had leuer lacke þ hole hand thā haue a wyfe. So yf þ prestys were at lyberte / some of þ worst sort wold yet I wene rather haue womē thā wyf. But other that wolde be moze honeste / wolde I suppose be maried. And yet wolde some peradventure lyue in perpetual contynence as fewe do now. ¶ God forbede q. ¶ Well q be they þ wold / were not restrayned. But yf I shall be bold to say what I thynk / it semeth me surely a very hard thige þ þ chyrche sholde make a lawe to bynde a man to chastyte magry hys tethe / to whiche god wolde neuer bynde any man. ¶ The chyrche quod I byndeth

no mā to chastyte. ¶ That is trouthe q be except a preste be a man. ¶ Ye myght take the mater quod I as I shall shew you after. ¶ There wolde quod he many harmys be auoyded / & myche good wold there grow therof / yf they might haue wyrys that wolde. ¶ What good or harme quod I wolde come therof the prose wolde shewe / wherein we myght be the moze bolde to trust well / were yt not that we now fynde yt naught in Sarony where we newly se yt assayed. And as for that ye spake of olde tyme whan the prestys were better / surely as I wolde yf ye had not stopped me haue sayde serther byfore. we perceue well by the wyrters of olde tyme / that of those good men very few were maried. And none in effect after that offyce taken. And many suche as had wyrys byfore / wyllyngly wryth theyre wyrys assente forbate the carnall vble of theym. And syth the good or harme growynge of the mater best appereth by the prose / besyde the experience that we haue now in Sarony where this chaunge ys bygonne wryth an insynye hope of herelues / yt ys ethe to see that the good fathers whyche gaue theyr aduyce to the makynge of that lawe / wryth the thyng almost receyued in generall custome byfore / and wryth the consente of all crystendome in effecte that ratyfied and receyued yt after / hadde a good pfe therof / and fownde this the beste waye byfore the lawe made / and therefore I wyll not dispute wryth you therevpon. But for as myche as ye laye vntreasonableness to theyre charge that made yt / bycause they bynd men as ye reken agaynst theyr wyll to chastyte / somewhat were yt that

that ye saye / yf the chyrche compelled
 eny mā to be prest. But now whā eve
 ry mā is at hys lyberte not to be prest
 but at thys plesure / how can eny man
 say that the chyrch layeth a bounde of
 chastyte in eny mannys necke agaynst
 hys wyll. The chyrch doth in effect no
 fether but proude / that wher as mē
 wyll of theyr owne myndys som lyue
 chast and som wyll not / the mynysters
 of the sacrament shall be taken of that
 sorte only / that wyll be content to pro
 fesse chastyte. Wherwith who so syn
 deth fawt / blameth not onely the cler
 gye but also the tempoꝛalyte / whyche
 be and haue ben all thys whyle parte
 ners in the authoꝛyte of the makynge
 and conseruacyon of thys lawe. wher
 of there can no man blame the prync
 ples / but yf he be eyther in that heresye
 yf he thynke that the clenness of chastyte
 is no more pleasaunte to god than the
 carnall ple of matrimonye / or ellys yf
 he thynke yt euyl done to proude that
 the prestys whyche shall serue god in
 hys holy sacramentys / sholde be taken
 of the purest and moost pleasaunt sort.
 Wherunto yf very many had suche
 respects / that they prestys durde not
 presume to the sacrefyce of theyr mā
 metys but after certayne tyme of coꝛ
 poꝛall clenness / kept from theyr wyuys
 and som of them bounde to perpetuall
 chastyte / with the losse of that parte of
 theyr body wherwith they might do
 the contrary. ¶ Ye may quod he that
 was a good lute way. ¶ It was quod
 I lute in dede / but not so good as thys
 for therein wold be losse the myghte yf
 good men haue in resyrynge of the de
 uyll / & the refraynyng of theyr fleshy
 motyon. But as I wolde a was about
 to say / in the old lawe gūe to Moyses

the prestys of the temple for the tyme
 of theyr mynystacyon forbade theyr
 owne house and the company of theyr
 wyuys. And therfore they serued the
 temple by course / as yt well appereth
 in the begynnyng of saynt Lukys gos
 pell. So yf chastyte was thought both
 to god and man a thyng mere and co
 uenyent for prestys / among the whych
 moost magnyfyed carnall generacyon.
 And than how myche more specially
 now to y prestys of Cryst / whych was
 bothe boꝛne of a vyrgyn / and lyued &
 dyeda vyrgyn hym self / and exhorted
 all hys to the same / whose counsaill is
 that poynt lythe some be content to fo
 low and som to lyue otherwyse / what
 way were I say more metely than to
 take in to Crystys temple to serue about
 the sacrament / onely such as be of that
 sorte that are content and mynded to
 lyue after the clenness of Crystys holy
 counsaile. ¶ Trough yf they so wold
 be. ¶ They say quod I that they wyll
 whan they come therto beynge all redy
 warned of the lawe. And twentent yf
 fewer shold byke yt / therfore wold I
 as I sayd haue the better respecte ta
 ken to y chosynge. And lythe ys hard
 to haue so many so good / I wold haue
 the fewet made. But to say yf chyrch
 byndeth men to chastyte agaynst theyr
 wyll / bycause they take not prest but yf
 he lyth puffed chastite / is as far agayst
 reason / as yf ye wolde saye that they
 bynde men to chastyte agaynst theyr
 wyll / bycause they wyll make no more
 hys but suche as wyll pryncples to lyue
 chast. whyche pryncples every man well
 wote th they make of theyr owne myn
 dys / though the chyrche wyll neyther
 make monys nor prestys but suche as
 so wyll. And as touching whether the
 order

The thyrde boke.

order of the church therein be better than the contrary/ good men and wyle men bothe had the proufe of bothe byfore the lawe made/ & yt well allowed thoww crystendom long tyme synnys. whych ere I wold assent to chaunge/ I wold se a better author therof/ than such an heretique as Luther/ and Tyndall/ & a better sample than the sedycious and scismaticque prestys of Saxony. ¶ Surely quod he yz haue well declared the church towehyng that law. But what so euer y cause be/ by my trouth nought they be/ and as farre worse than we/ as they be bounde to be better/ and yet be we the worse for them. ¶ There be quod I many ryght good among the/ and ellys were yt wronge wth vs. And many be there bad also/ and some the worse for vs. But whycher parte is the better of the worse/ wyl I not dispute. But thys wyl I say that yt were best that they thought them selfe the worse/ and we our selfe/ and euey man hym selfe worse. ¶ I wolde that we were all in case wth our own faultys as my father saythe that we be wth our wyys. For whan he heereh folke blame wyys and say that there be so many of them shrewes/ he sayth that they dyffame the falsely. For he saythe playnly that there is but one shrewde wyse in y worlde/ but he sayth in dede that euery man weneth he hather her/ and that y one is hys owne. So wold I sayne that euery man wolde wene there were but one man nought in all y hole worlde/ and that that one were hym selfe. And that he wold theppso go about to mende that one/ and thus wold all ware well. whych thyng we shold shortly do/ yf we wold onys tourne our waies/ that I tolde you of/ and

the bagge wth other folkys faultys cast at our backe/ and cast the bagge y bereth our owne faultys caste yt onys byfore vs at our breste. It wolde be a goodly broothe for vs to loke on our owne faultys a nother whyle. And I dare boldly say/ bothe they & we shold mych the better amend/ yf we were so redy eche to pray for other/ as we be redy to seke eche others reproche and rebuke. ¶ In sayth quod he I trow that be true and pray god we so may.

¶ The. xiii. chapyter.

¶ The author answereth the doute moued before in the. xi. chapyter/ concerning the constytucion prouynepall/ and that the clergie is therein farre fro the fault that is imputed to them in that poynte/ shewing also that the clergie hath the not forboden the byble to be made and redde in englyshe.

But now to the mater we were in hand wth. he sayde ye wold make answer for the lawe/ wherby y clergie of thys realme hath the forboden all the peple to haue eny scripture translated in to our tonge/ whych is as I sayd in my mynde an enyll made law. ¶ Wher quod I y is lone answered. I y the charge to them that made yt. ¶ Wher y he so I do. For who made that constytucion but they. ¶ Surely quod I no body ell/ nor they neyther. ¶ And y he. whiche euery man knoweth yt. ¶ Wher y I many men talke of yt/ but no man knoweth yt. For there is none such in dede. Wher ys of trouth a constytucion that speketh of such mater/ but no thyng of such falsyon. For ye shall vnderstande y the grete archheretique the ptyf/ wher as the hole byble was longe byfore hys days by vertouls

bertuouse and well lerned men transla-
ted in to thenglysh tonge/and by good
and godly people wyth deuocyon and
sobernes wel and reuerently red/roke
vppon hym of a malycouse purpose to
translate yt of new. In whych transla-
cyon he purposely corrupted that holy
texte/malycously plātyng therein such
wordys/as myghte in the reders crys
serue to the profe of suche heresyas as
he went about to sowe/whyche he not
onely set forth wyth hys owne transla-
cyon of y byble/but also wyth certayn
prologes and glosys whyche he made
thervppō. And these thyngys he so han-
deled (whyche was no grete maystre)
wyth reasons probable and lykely to
lay people & vnlernd/y he corrupted
in hys tyne many folke in this reame.
And by other yll bokys which he made
in laten byngge after bozne in to Bo-
heme & there taughte by Iohn Hulse &
other/ he was thoccasyon of the bitter
subuersyon of that hole reame bothe in
fayth and good lyuynge/ wyth the losse
also of many a thousand lyups. And as
he began agayn y old heresyas of those
auncyent heretyques whom & whose
errours the chyrch of Cryst had cōdem-
ned and subdued many driers agys
afore/so doth Luther agayne begynne
to set vp hys. For all that he hath in ef-
fecte/ he hathe of hym. Saunge that
lest he sholde seme to say nothyng of
hys own/ he added som thyng of hym
selfe of suche maner sozt/as there was
neuer heretyque befoze hys dayes/ney-
ther so wycked that he wold for synne/
noz so folish y he durit for shame wyte/
say/or I trow thynk y lyke. ¶ I longe
quod he to bere som of the ym/for y mā
is takē for wyser thā to mean so madly
as men bere hym in hand. ¶ Wel quod

I that shall we se sone whan we come
therto. Bu for our present purpose / af-
ter that yt was perceyued what harme
y people toke by the translatyon / pro-
logys and glosys of wytylffe/and also
of some other that after hym holpe to
set forth hys secte/ thā for y cause/ and
for as myche as yt ys daungerouse to
translate the texte of scripture oute of
one tonge in to a nother as holy saynt
Hieroni testyfeth/ for as myche as in
trāslaciō it is hard alwai to kepe y same
sentence hole/ yt was I saye for these
causys at a counsaile holden at Oren-
ford/ prouyded vppon grete payn that
no mā shold frō thence forth translate
in to thenglysh tōge or any other lan-
gage of hys own authoizyte/ by waye
of boke/ lybell/ or tretyce/ nor no man
openly or secretly any such boke/ lybel/
or tretyce rede newly made in the
tyne of the sayde Iohan wytylffe or
synnys/ or y sholde be made any tyne
after/ tyll the same translatiō were by
the dyocelane/ or yf nede sholde sore-
quyre by a prouyncyall counsaile appro-
ued. And thys ys the law y so many so
long haue spokē of/ & so few haue in al
y whyle thought to seke whyther they
say trouth or no. For I trow y in thys
law ye se no thig vntreasonable. For yt
neyther forbodeth y trāslaciōs to be red
y were all redy well done of old byfoze
wytylffys dayes/ nor dāpneth hys by-
cause yt was new/ but bycause yt was
noughte/ nor prohybyreth new to be
made/ but prouydeth y they shall not
be redde yf they be mysse made/ tyll
they be by good examinaciō amēded/ ex-
cepte they be such trāslaciōs as wytylff
made & Tidal/ y y malycyō mynd of y
trāslatoz had in such wyle hādled it as
it were laboz lost to go about to mēd it.

¶ I long

¶ I.

The thyrde boke.

I longe by my trowth quod he & euen
lyt on thornes / tyll I se that constytu-
cyō. For not my self only but euery mā
ellys hath euer takē yt far other wyse /
that euer I haue herd spokē therof tyll
now. But surely I wyll se yt my selfe
ere I slepe. ¶ Ye shall be soner eased of
I. For I can not suffer to se you lyt so
longe on thornes. And therfore ye shal
se yt by and by.

And therwith I fet hym forth the
constytucyons prouyncyall wyth lyn-
wood therbypon / and tozmyd hym to
the place in y tyle de magistris. which
whan hym selfe had redde / he sayde he
maruayled mich how it happened that
in so playne a mater men be so far ab-
used / to repozte yt so farre wzonge.

Thys groweth quod I partely by
malyce / partely by slouth and negly-
gence / in y folke be moze glad to by-
leue and tell forth a thyng that maye
sowne to the dysprayse of the clergye /
thā to serche and be sure whyther they
say trewe or no.

The .xv. chapter.

The messenger moueth agaynst y
clergye / y thoughte they haue made
no law therof / yet they wyll in dede
suffer non englysh byble in no mān
hand / but ble to burne theym where
they fynde theym / and somtyme to
to burne the man to. And for ensam-
ple he layeth one Rycharde hūne / the
wyng that the chaūcelor of Londō
murdered hym in pryson and after
hanged hym / saynyng y he hanged
hym self / & after cōdemned hym of
heresy / bycause he had an englyshe
byble / & so burned y byble & hym to-
gether wherunto y author āswereth

I Suppose quod he that thys oppo-
nyon is rather growen another

way / that ys to wytte by the reason y
the clergye though the law serue them
not therfore / do yet in dede take all trā-
slacyons out of euery lay mann^s hand.
And somtyme wyth those that be bur-
ned or cōpycted of heresy / they turne
y englysh byble wythout respecte / be y
translacyon olde or new / bad or good.
¶ Forsoth quod I yf thys were so / thā
were yt in my mynde not well done.
But I byleue ye mystake yt. Howe be
yt what ye haue sene I can not saye.
But my selfe haue sene and can shew
you byblys fayre and olde wyrtē in
englyshe / whyche haue ben knowen &
sene by the byshop of the dyoclyse / and
lefte in laye mennys handys and wo-
mens to suche as he knewe for good
and catholyke folk / that vsed yt wyth
deuocyon and sobernes. But of trowth
all suche as are founden in the handys
of heretyques / they ble to take awaye
But they do cause none to be burned
as farre as euer I coulde wytte / but
onely such as be founde sawtyc. wher
of many be set forth wyth euyl prolo-
gys or glosys malyciously made by
wyclif & other heretykes. For no good
mā wold I wene be so mad to burne by
y byble / wher they found no fault / nor
on law y letted yt to be loked on & red.
¶ Bary quod he but I haue herd good
men say that euen here in London not
many yerys agoo / in the dayes of the
byshop that last dyed / they burned by
as fayre bybles in englysh as eny man
hath lyghly sene / and therto as fault-
lesse forawght that eny man coulde
fynde / as eny byble ys in laten. And
yet bysydys thys they burned bype
the dede bodye of the man hym selfe /
whome theym selfe hadde hanged in
the byshopps pryson befoze / makynge
as though

as though y man had haged hym selfe. And of the burnynge of hys body had they no colour/ but onely bycause they founde englyshe bybles in hys howse. Wherin they neuer founde other fault/ but bycause they were englysh. ¶ Who tolde you thys tale quod I. ¶ Forsothe dyuers honest mē quod he that saw yt/ and specyall one that saw the man hanging in y bysshops pylon ere he was cutte downe. And he told me y yt was well and clerely proued/ y the chaunceler & hys keepers had kyled the man fyrst/ and thā hanged hym after. And that they had layd herelre to hym only for hatred y he lued a pmunyre agast dyuers persons/ for a lupt taken about a mortuary in the audyence of the archbishop of cāterbury. And thā they proued the herelre by nothyng e llys/ but by the posselcion of a good englysh byble. And bypon herelre so proued agaynst hym whome they had hanged/ lest he sholde save for hym selfe/ they burned bype the holy scripture of god/ and the body of a good man therwyth. For I haue herd hym called a very honest person and of a good substaunce. ¶ Forsothe quod I of good substaunce he was I thynke well worthe a. M. markys. And of hys worldly conuelclacyon among the peple I haue herd non harme: But surely as towchynge hys sayth towarde Cryste/ me thynketh I may be bold to say that he was not honest. And as touching trouthe i word/ he y hath tolde you thys tale was not so honeste in dede as me thynketh ye take hym for. ¶ Why y he doye know y mater well. ¶ Forsoth y I so wel I know it frō top to too/ y I suppose ther be not bety many mē y know yt mych better. For I haue not only ben dyuers

tymes present my selfe at certayn examynacions therof/ but haue also dyuers and many tymes sunderly talked wyth almost all such except the ded mā hym self/ as moost knew of the mater. whych mater was many tymes in sundry placys examyned. But specyally at Baynardys castell one day was yt examyned at great length/ and by a long tyme euery mā beyng sent for byfoze/ & redy there all y could be founden y eny thyng could tell oz y had sayd they could eny thyng tell in the mater. And thys examynacyō was had byfoze dyuers grete lordys spiritual and temporal and other of the kyngys honorable counsayll/ sente thyrther by his hyghnesse for the nonys of hys blessed zeale and princely desyre bozne to the serchyng of the trouthe. Wherunto hys gracious mynde was myche enclined/ & had ben by a ryghte honorable mā enformed/ that there was one had shewed a frend of hys y he could go take hym by the sleue y kyled Hūne/ for Rycharde hūne was hys name whome ye speke of. I was also my self pient at the iudgement gūe in Dowlys/ wher bypon hys bokys & hys body were burned. And by all these thyngys I very well knowe/ that he of whom ye haue herd thys mater/ hath tolde you talys far from y trouthe. ¶ In good fayth y your frende/ he tolde me one thyng y ye speke of now/ that there was one that sayde he cowlde go take hym by the sleue that kyled Hūne/ and that he dyd so in dede byfoze the lordys/ and came euen there to the chaunceler and sayd my lordys thys ys he. But whā he was asked how he knew it/ he cōfessed y yt was by luche an vnlawfull craft as was not take for a profe.

For yt

¶ li.

The thyrd boke.

For it was thei say by necromacie And the bysshops y were there wolde haue had y man burned to for wyche craft. And told me also y there was a nother whyche had sene meny men y had hangid the self / a man that had be long in offyce vnder dyuers of the kyngys almaynourers / to whom y goodys of such men as kyled them self be appoynted by y law / and hys offyce / as deodandis to be gyuen in alinoyse This man as I haue herd saye / shewed vnto the lordys by suche experyence as he had good and playne tokes / by whych they perceyued well that Hunne dyd neuer hange hym selfe. I haue herd also that a spyrytuall man and one that loued well the chaunceler / and was a laborer for that parte / yet coude not deny befoze all the lordys but that he hadde tolde a tempozall man and a frende of hys / that Hunne had neuer ben accused of heresye yf he had neuer sued the premunye. And by saynt Mary that was a shrewd worde. How be yt in dede yt went not so nere the mater as the tother two thyngys dyd. ¶ Yes in good saythe quod I all thye lyke nere whan they were all herd. But of trouth many other thyngys were there layd / that bypon the herynge semed myche more suspycouse than these. Whyche yet whan they were answered / alway losse more than halfe theyr strength. But as for these thye maters I promysse you proued very tryfles / and such as yf ye had herd theym ye wolde haue latoghed at theym seven yere after. ¶ I beseeche you quod he lette me here howe they proued. ¶ I am lothe quod I to lette you and lese youre tyme in suche tryfles. How be yt sythe ye longe so soze therfore / rather than ye sholde

lese youre chylde for theym / ye shall haue theym all thye as shortly as I can. Fyyste ye muste vnderstande that bycause the comynge together of the lordys from Grenewych to Baynard castell for the trynge oute of the mater sholde not be frustrate / there was suche dyligence done befoze / that euery man that aughte hadde sayde therein / was redy there agaynst theyre comynge. where they began wyth the fyyste poynte that ye spake of / as the specyall mocyon wherbypon the kyngys hyghnesse had sent theym thither. Wherfoze after the rehersall made of the cause of theyr comynge / the grettest tempozal lord there present sayd vnto a certayn seruant of hys own stadyng there bysyde / sye ye told me y one shewed you that he could go take hym by y sleue y kyled Hune. haue ye brought hym hyther. Sye q he yf yt lyke your lordshyp this man yt was y told me so / poyntyng to one that he had caused to come thither. Than my lord asked that man howe saye ye sye can ye do as ye sayd ye coude. Forsothe my lord quod he and yt lyke youre lordshyp I sayd not so myche / thys gentylman dyd somwhat myse take me. But in dede I tolde hym that I had a neyghbout that tolde me that he cowlde do yt. Where ys that neyghboure quod my lord. Thys man sye quod he / byngynge forthe one whyche had also be warned to be there. Than was he asked whyther he had sayd that he could do yt. Nay forsothe quod he my lord I sayde not that I cowlde do yt my self / but I sayde y one told me that he could do yt. Well q my lord who tolde you so. Forsothe my lord quod he my neyghbout here. Tha was y mā as sayd.

Sye

For knowe you one that can tell who
kylled Hunne. Forsoth quod he and yet
lyke your lordshyppe I sayd not that I
knew one surely y could tell who had
kylled hym/ but I sayd in dede that I
knowe one whiche I thought verily
coude tell who kylled hym. Well quod
the lord at last yet wryth mych woꝝke
we come to so what. but wherby thynk
you y he can tel. Nay forsoth my lord
q he yt is a womā. I wolde she were
here w your lordshyppis now. Well q
my lord woman oꝝ man all is one/ she
shall be hadde where so euer she be.
By my fapth my lord q he & she were
w you she wold tell you wōders. For
by god I haue wryt her tell many mar
uylouse thyng ere now. Why q y lord.
Dis what haue you herd her tolde. For
soth my lord quod he yf a thyng had
bene stolen/ she wold haue tolde who
had yt/ and therfoze I thike she coude
as well tell who kylld Hunne as who
stale an hoꝝse. Surely sayd the lordys
so thynke all we to I trow. But how
coude she tell yt by the deuill. Nay by
my trowth I trow quod he/ for I coude
neuer se her vñ eny woꝝle waye than
lokyng in onys hande. Therwryth the
lordys laughed and asked what is she.
Forsoth my lord quod he an egypcyan/
and she was lodged euen here at Lam
beth/ but she ys gone ouer see now.
How be it I trow she be not i her own
countre/ yet for they saie yt ys a grete
waye hense/ and she wente ouer ytell
moze than a moneth ago. Now for
soth q your frende thys processe came
to a wyse purpose/ here was a gret post
well thywoted to a puddynge pyk. But
I pray you to what poynt came the se
cond mater of hym that had ben in of
fence vnder so many of the kyngys al

morgnerys/ that he knew by hys owne
experyēce & pved y Hūne had not han
ged hym selfe. Forsoth q I he was
called in nexte. And than was he asked
wherby he knewe yt. But wold ged ye
had sene his contenaūce. The mā had
of lykelyhed sayd sū what to far & was
myche amased/ & lokcd as though hys
eyen wold haue fallen oute of hys hed
in to the lordys lappys. But to y que
styo he answered and sayd/ y he saw y
very well/ for he sawe hym both ere he
was take down & after. What than q
y lordys so dyd there many mo/ whych
yet vppon the syght coude not tel that.
No my lordys quod he but I haue a no
ther in syght insuche thyng thā other
men haue. What in syghte quod they.
Forsoth q he yt ys not vñknownen y I
haue occupped a grete whyle vnder dy
uers of y kyngys almorgnyers/ & haue
sene & consydered many that haue han
ged the self/ & therby yf I se one hange
I can tell anon whycher he hanged
hym self oꝝ not. By what tokē can you
tell quod the lordys. Forsoth he quod he
I can not tell y tokēs/ but I perceyue
yt well ynoughe by myn owne syghte.
But whan they herd hym speke of hys
owne syghte/ and therwryth saw what
syght he had/ lokynge as though hys
eyen wold haue fallen in theyz lappes/
there coude fewe foꝝbere laughynge/
and sayd we se wel surely that ye haue
a syghte by your selfe. And than sayde
one lord mecrely/ peraduenture as lom
mā is so cūpyng by experyēce of iewels
that he can perceyue by hys owne eye
whycher a stone be ryghte oꝝ counter.
fōt thoughte he can not well make a
nother man to perceyue the tokens/ so
thys good felowe thowghe he can not
tell vs the mackys/ yet hath suche an
experyēce

The thyrd boke.

experyence in hangyng / that hym selfe
perceyueth vppon the syght / whyther
the man hangyd hym selfe or no. ye
forsothe my lord quod he euer as your
lordshipp sayth. For I knowe yt wel
ynough my selfe. I haue sene so many
by reason of myn offyce. why quod a
nother lord mercily your offyce hath
no more experyence in hangyng than
hath an hange mā. And yet he can not
tell. Aye sye q he and yt lyke your
lordshipp he medlerh not wyth them
that hange them selfe as I do. well
q one of the lordys how many of them
haue ye medled wyth in your dayes.
wyth many my lord quod he / for I
haue ben offrect vnder two almog-
ners and therfore I haue sene many.
Howe many quod one of the lordys.
I can not tell quod he howe many /
but I wote well I haue seene many.
Haue ye sene quod one an hundred.
Aye quod he not an hundred. Haue
ye sene foure score and ten. therat a ly-
tell he studyed as one standyng in a
doute and that were loth to lye and at
laste he sayd / that he thoughte nay not
fully foure score & ten. Chan was he as-
ked whither he hath sene twenty. And
therto wythout eny styckynge he an-
swered nay not twenty. Therat y lord-
dys lawghed well to se that he was so
sure that he had not sene twentye / and
was in dout whyther he had sene four
score and ten. Chan was he asked why-
ther he had sene. xv. And therto he sayd
shortely nay / And in lykewyse of ten.
And laste they came to fyue / & fro fyue
to foure. And there he bygan to studye
agayn. Cha cam they to thre / & tha for
shame he was fayne to say y he had sene
so many & mo to. But whā he was as-
ked / whā / whom / & in what place / ne

cessyie draue him at last vnto y trowth /
wherby yt appered that he neuer had
sene but one in all hys lyfe. And that
was an yzysch fellow called croke shank
whome he hadde sene hangyng in an
olde barne. And whā all hys connyng
was come to thys / he was bad walke
lyke hym self. And one sayd vnto hym
that bycause he was not yet connyng
ynoughe in the crafte of hangyng / yt
was pte that he hadde no more expe-
ryence therof by one mo. ¶ Forsothe q
your frende thys was a mad fellowe.
Came y thyrd tale to as wyle a poynt.
¶ ye shall here quod I. The temporal
man that had reported yt by y mouth
of the spyrytual mā / was a good wor-
shippfull man / and for hys trowth and
worthyp was in grete credyte. And su-
rely the spyrytuall man was a man of
worthyp also / & wel knowe both for cō-
nyng & vertuose. And therfore y lord
myche meruayled knewig the both for
suche as they were / that they shold be
lyke to fynde / ether the tone or the to-
ther cyther make an vntrewe reporte
or vntrewly denye y trowth. And fyrst
the temporal mā before the lordys in
the helyng of the spyrytuall person stā-
dyng by / sayd / my lordys as helpe me
god and haly dom mayster doctout here
sayd vnto me hys owne mouth / that yf
hūne had not sued the pzenunye he
shold neuer haue tē accused of heresy.
How say you master doctout quod the
lordys was y trewe or ellys why sayd
ye so. Surely my lordys quod he I
sayd not all thyng so / but mary thys I
sayd in dede / that yf hūne had not bē
accused of heresy / he wold neuer haue
sued the pzenunye. And my lordys q
the tother I am gladd ye fynde me a
true man. weyll ye commaunde me eny
more

more scrupul. Nay by my trowth q one
of y lord not in this mater by my wyl
ye maye go whan ye wyl. For I have
espored good mā so y word be al one yt
maketh no mater to you whyche waye
they stand but all is one to you a horse
myl & a myll horse / dike ere ye go & go
ere ye drynke. Hape my lordys quod
he I wyl not drynke dod yelde you.
And therworth he made curreyle & wēt
hys waye / leupnge some of the lordys
lawghynge to se the good playne olde
honest man / how that as contrary as
they two talys were / yet whā he herd
thē both agayne / he marked no dyffe-
rence bytwene theym / but toke theym
barhe for one / bycause y wordys were
one. By my trowth q your frend these
thre thyngys came merly to passe /
and I wold not for a good thyng but
I had herd theym. For here may a man
se that mylke vnderstandynge maketh
mylke reportyng. And a tale that fleeth
thorowe many mouthes / catcheth ma-
ny new fetters / whyche whan they be
pulled away agayne / leue hym as pyl-
led as a coote and somtyme as bare as
a byrds ars. But I thynke verly for
all thys there was grete eydence gy-
uen agaynst the chaunceler / for he was
at length endyghted of Hunnys deth /
and was a grete while in pryson / and
in cōclusyō neuer durst abyde the tryal
of twelue men for hys acquytale / but
was fayne by frendshyp to gete a ydo.
But I beseeche you for my myndys sa-
ke / shewe me what thought your selfe
therin. ¶ Of trowth quod I there were
dyuerse suspreouse thyngys layd aga-
ynst hym / and al those well and substā-
cyally answered agayn for hym. How
be yt vpon the tellynge of a tale of tē
tyme happeth / that whan all ys herde

that can be sayde therin / yet shall the
heres some thynke one way and some
a nother. And therfore though I can
not thynke but that the Jury whyche
were ryght honest men / found the ver-
dycte as theym selfe thought in theyre
owne conspyence to be trowth / yet in
my own mynde for oughte that euer
I herd therof in my lyfe as helpe god
I could neuer thik yt. ¶ If he had not
ben gylty quod your frende / he wolde
neuer haue lued hys ydon. ¶ Yes quod
I ryght wylse men haue I herd say ere
thys / that they wyl neuer refuse ney-
ther goddys pardon nor the kyngys.
It were no wysdom in a mater of ma-
ny suspreouse talys be they neuer so
falle / to stāde on twelue mennys mou-
thes where one may fynd a surer way.
But I thynke verly that if he had be
gylty / he sholde neuer haue goten hys
pardon. For al be yt that thēre was ne-
uer I crowe brought in thys worlde a
prynce of more benygne nature / nor of
more mercyfull mynde / than ys our so-
uerayne lord that now reygneeth and
longe mote reygne vpon vs / wherby
neuer kyng coude fynde in hys harte
more frely to forgyue and forgete offe-
cys done and comytted vnto hym selfe /
yet hath hys hyghnesse suche a feruent
affecō to right & iustyce in other mē-
causys / & such a tēder zeile to the conser-
uaciō of hys subgett / of whose lypys
hys hygh wysedom consydereth many
to stand in patell by the geuyng of per-
don to a few wylfull murderers / that
neuer was there kyng / I byleue y euer
ware the crowne in thys realme whych
hath in so many perys geuē vnto such
folke so fewe. And therfore I make my
selfe sure that in such a wylfull purpō-
sed hyghnoue cruel dede as thys had
bene

The thyzde boke.

bene yf hys had bene trew / all the fren
dys that could haue bene founden for
the chauncellour in this world / could
neuer haue gotten hys pardon to passe
in such wyse / had yt not be that vppon
the repozte of all the circumstancys /
the kynge hygh prudence whych wroth
out flattery perceith as depe in to the bo-
tome of a dowtefull mater as euery
law man in my lyfe / had well percey-
ued hys innocencye. And as for my selfe
in good fayth as I told you byfore. I
neuer had in my lyfe (and yet haue I
herd all I wene yf well could be sayed)
therin eny thing ymoued me after both
the parties herde / to thynke that he
shold be gyltye. ¶ And bys dydys al this
consydering that Hunne was (as they
that well knowe hym saye he was in
dede) though he were a fayre dealer a-
mong hys neygbourys / yet a man hygh
mynded and set on the gloze of a vre-
toze / whych he hoped to haue in the
premyunce / wherof he mych boasted as
they sayed among hys samylare fren-
dys / that he trusted to be spokke of long
after his dayes / and haue hys mater in
the petyes and termys called Hunnys
case. whych whan he perceyued wolde
go agaynst his purpose / and that in the
tempozall law he shold not wyne his
sperrytys / and ouer that in yf sperrytuall
law perceyued so myche of hys secreete
sozys vntwapped & dyscouered that he
bega to fall in fere of worldly shame /
yt ys to me mych more lykely that for
wretynnes of hys lyfe he cydde hym selfe
out therof (whych maner of affeccyon
we se not seldom happ / specially syth
the deuill myght peradventure ioyne
therw a malycouse hope of yf whych
after happed that the suspencion of hys
deth mych be laped to the charge and

And sythe I kepyly beleue
that yf he had bene gyltye
he neuer could haue gotten
in such an hyghynous man-
ner eny pardon of the kyn-
ge bys grace / I dare make
my selfe mych more bold of
his innocency now. For ye
shall vnderstand that he ne-
uer sued pardon therfore.
But after longe examyna-
cyon of the mater / as well
the chauncellour as othe-
re bys enyghted of the
dede & arrayed vppon the
ent pygme in the kyn-
ge bench / pleid that they
were not gyltye. And ther-
vppon the kynge grace
bys grace well & suffyciently
enfozmed of the trouthe / &
of hys bys dydys / vpon
not wyllyng that there shold
in hys name eny falle ma-
ter be maynteyned / gaue in
chawncellour to hys attor-
ney to confesse theys pley-
es to be trewe wrythout any
further trouble. whych thing
is so faythfull a ppynce as
a clere declaracyon that the
mater layd to the chauncel-
lour was vntrew.

parell of the chauncellour) this ys I
say myche more lykely to me / than the
thyng wherof I neuer herd the lyke
byfore / that the bysshoppys chaunceler
shold kyll in the lollardys towze a ma-
so soze suspect and cōbycte of heresye /
wherby he myght byrnye hym selfe in
belynes / where as yf he hated the man
(for kyll hym he wolde not re wote
well yf he loued hym) he myght easely
byrnye hym to shame and peradventure
to shamefull dethallo.

¶ In good fayth yf your frend wryte
I that yt were trew that he was an
heretique in dede / and in parell to be
so proued / I wold well thynke that in
malice and dyspayze he hangyd hym
selfe. ¶ God quod I knoweth of all
thyng the trouthe. But what I haue
herd therin that shall I shew you.

¶ My selfe was present in poulys wher
the bysshope in yf presence of yf Mayre
and the aldemen of the cytye cōdemp-
ned hym for an heretique after hys
dethe. And then were there redde of e-
ly yf depozicions / by whych yt was well
proued that he was conuycite as well
of dyuerse othe heresyas as of mysbey-
leue toward the holy sacrament of the
awter. And thervppon was the iudge-
ment geuen / that hys body sholde be
burned / and so was yt. ¶ Now this is
quod I to me a full profe. For I assure
you the bysshop was a very wyse man
a vertuose and a cūnyng. ¶ By sayne
may quod he the profe is the better by
so mych. ¶ I shall tell you quod I a no-
ther thyng / whych whan ye here
ye shall peradventure beleue yt yet the
better. ¶ That wolde I gladly know
quod he. For as farer as I can here ne-
uer man had hym suscecte of eny such
thyng byfore. ¶ Forsoth quod I that
can I

can I not tel. But so yt happed that as I remember fyr or seuē yere after that Hūne was thus hanged and hys body burned for an heretyke/ there was one in Essex a carpenter that vled to make pumpes/ whyche had entended wyth other suche as he was hym selfe to do grete robbery/ and therbyppon was he brought vnto the court. Where by the comaundement of the kyngys grace/ a grete honourable estate of thys realme and my selfe had hym in examynacyon. Whereinamong other thyngys he confessed that he had longe holden dyuers heresyces/ whych he sayd that hys brother beyng a clerke of a chyche had taught bothe hys father and hym. And I promysed you those heresyces were of an heygth. Than he shewed vs what other connyng maysters of that scole he had herd rede/ & specyally in a place whych he named vs in Londo/ where he sayd y suche heretyques were wont to resorte to theyr redyngys in a chamber at mydnyght. And whan we asked hym y nainys of them that were wont to haunte those mydnyghte lecturis/ he reherled vs dyuers/ & amonge other he named Rycharde hunne. Wherof we somwhat meruayled in oure myndys/ but nothyng sayde we therto/ but let hym reherse on all such as he could call to mynde. And whan he stopped and could remember noma/ than asked we of the that he had named/ what they were and where they dwelled. And he tolde vs of some of them that were corrupted/ & some y were fledde/ and some that were yet at that tyme dwellynge wyl in the town. And in the way whā we asked hym what man was y Hūne that he spake of/ he tolde vs hys person and hys howse. And where is he now

sayd we. Mary q he I went to Courney/ and whan I cam therse agayne/ than herd I say that he was hanged in the lollardys towre and hys body burned for an heretyque. And thus there lerned we longe after/ that Hūne had haunted heretyques lectures by nyght longe befoze/ whych we declared vnto the kyngys hyghnesse as he had confessed. And hys hyghnesse though he was soz y eny man shold be so lewd/ yet hyghly dyd reioyce that y goodnes of god broughte suche hyd myscheyfe moze and moze to lyght. So after had we by the kyngys comaundement that mānys brother in examynacyō/ which dyd in dede confesse nothyng/ neyther of y felonys nor of the heresyces. But yet his brother dyd abyde by them and auowed theym in hys face/ wyth suche markys and tokens as yt myghte well appere that he sayd treuth. And surely meruayle were it yf he wold falsly haue fayned such heygthouse thyng/ agaynst hys owne brother/ hys owne father/ hym selfe/ beyng therto nothyng compelled/ nor put eyther in payne or fere. Now was the father dede/ and other could we not come by/ whō we myghte ferther examyne of that nyght scole/ sayng that he whych as I told you confessed thys mater/ shewed vs also at y fyrst tyme of one man in Londen taken for good and honest/ whyche was as he sayd a scole also of hys brother in those heresyces/ whych man for hys honestie we forbare to medle wyl/ tyl we shold haue the tother brother. whō as sone we had in handys/ and that he was comytted to the marshallys/ thys other man whych was as I tolde you detected vnto vs for an heretyque and a scole of hys/ came to me to labour & sue for

The thyrd boke.

sue for hym / pretendinge that he dyd
yt for cheryte. And for as mychas we
thought we could not fayle of him whā
we wold haue hym / we forbore ther-
fore to examyne hym / tyll we sholde
haue examyned the tother whom he la-
bozed for. But than were we not ware
in what wyse we shold be dysapoynted
of hym. For so myshapped yt in dede / y
after hys beynge at me to labor for him
whole scole i heresie he was detecte to
be / he was in hys own howse sodayn-
ly stryken & slayne. And that woeched
ende had he. What consence he dyed
wyth god knoweth / for I can tell you
no ferther. ¶ By saynt John quod your
frend but bypon y hole tale / yt semeth
to me very clere that Hunne was hym
selfe not clere of the mater. ¶ Surely
quod I so semed yt as far as I cowlde
topyte / hnto as many as euer herd yt /
and wolde yet I wene haue semed so
moze clerely / yf they had be present at
theramynacyōs / and sene vnder what
maner the man came for the therwith.
¶ But yet quod your frende as for his
englysh byble / though he Hunne were
hym selfe an heretyque / yet myght the
boke be good ynough. And no good rea-
son ys there why a good boke shold be
burned wyth an euyl man. ¶ We call
me well home quod I / & put me well
in mynd. For y was the thyng wherby
ye toke occasyon to talke of Hunne / of
whom we talked so longe / that at last
I had forgotten wherfore & wherbyppō
we entred in to that communycacyon.
And yet make those bokys not a lytell
to the mater that we had in hande / I
meane toward the perceyvinge what
oppynyon that Hunne was of. For sure-
ly at suche tyme as he was denounced
for an heretyque / there lay his englysh

byble open / and som other englyshe bo-
kys of hys / that every man myghte se
the placys noted with his own hande /
suche wordys / and in suche wyse / that
there wold no wyse man y good were /
haue eny grete dowte after the syghte
therof / what naughty myndys the mē
had / both he that so noted theym / and
he that so made them. I remember not
now the speryaltees of the mater / nor
the formall wordys as they were wy-
ten. But thys I remember well that
besydys other thyngys framed for the
fauour of dyuers other heresyas / there
were in the prologe of that byble suche
wordys touchynge y blessed sacramēt /
as good crysten mē dyd myche abhorre
to here / and whych gaue the reders bra-
douted occasyō to thynke that the boke
was wyten after wycklyffs copy / and
by hym translated in to our tonge. And
yet whycher the boke be burned or se-
cretely kept I can not surely saye. But
truly were the clergye of my mynd / y
sholde be some where reserued / for the
perpetual profe of the mater / ther hath
gone so mych susprysō rumoz therof.
Whych as I byleue were all well an-
swered & the mynde fully satisfyed of
eny mā that wyse were & good therw /
that onys had ouerlooked / red / and ad-
uysedly consydered that boke.

¶ The .xvi. chappter.

¶ The messenger rehersech som cau-
sys whych he hath herd layd by som
of the clergye / wherfore y scripture
shold not be suffred in englysh. And
the authoz sheweth hys mynde that
yt were conuenyēt to haue the byble
in englyshe. And therwyth endeth
the thyrd boke.

So quod your frende yet for all
thys can I se no cause why the
clergye

clergye shold kepe the byble out of lay
mennys handys/ that can no more but
theyr mother tonge. ¶ I had wente q
I that I had proued you playnly/ that
they kepe yt not from the. For I haue
shewed you that they kepe none frome
theym/ but suche translatyon as be ey-
ther not yet approued for good/ or such
as be all redy reprobued for naught/ as
wycliffys was and Tyndals. For as
for other olde onys/ that were before
wycliffys days/ remain lawfull/ and
be in some folkys handys had and red.
¶ Ye say well quod he. But yet as wo-
men say/ somwhat yt was alway that
þe cat wynted whan her eye was oute.
Surely so ys yt not for nought that þe
englysh byble is in so few mennys han-
dys/ whan so many wold so fayne haue
yt. ¶ That ys very trouthe. For I
thynke that though the fauourers of a
secte of heretiques be so feruent in the
settinge forth of theyr sect/ that they
let not to lay theyr money togyder and
make a purse amonge the for the prynt-
yng of an euill made or euill transla-
ted boke/ whiche though yt hadde to be
forboden and burned yet som be solde
ere they be spyed/ & eche of theym lese
but theyr parte/ yet I thynk they wyll
no prynter lyghtely be so hote to put
eny byble in prynt at hys own charge/
wherof the losse sholde lye hole in hys
owne necke/ and than hange vppon a
doutfull trespall whycher the fyrst cōp-
py of hys translatyon was made before
wycliffys dayes or synnys. For yf yt
were made synnys/ yt must be approu-
ued byfore the pryntynge. And surely
howe yt hath happened that in all this
whyle god hath ether not suffred or
not prouided that eny good vertuose
man hath had the mynde in faythfull

wyse to translate yt/ and therbyppō ey-
ther the clergye or at the lest wyse som
one bysshop to approue yt/ this can no
thyng tell. But howe so euer yt be/ I
haue herd and here so myche spoken in
the mater/ and so mych dout made ther
in/ that peraduenture yt wold let and
withdrawe eny one bysshop from the
admytting therof/ without the assent
of the remanaunt. And where as ma-
ny thyngys be layd agaynst yt/ yet ys
there in my mynde not one thyng that
more putteth good men of the clergye
in dout to suffer yt/ than this y they se
sometyme myche of the worse sort more
feruent in the calling for yt/ than the
whom we fynde far better. Whiche ma-
keth theym to fere lest such men desyre
yt for no good/ and lest yf yt were had
in euery mānys hand/ there wold gret
patell aryse/ and that sedycyouse peo-
ple shold do more harme therewith/ than
god and honest folke sholde take frute
therby. Whiche fere I promyse you no
thyng fereth me/ but that who so euer
wolde of theyre malice or foly take
harme of that thyng that ys of yt self
ordeyned to do all men good/ I wold
neuer for thauoydynge of theyr harme/
take frome other the profyte whiche
they myght take/ and no thyng deserue
to lese. For ellys yf thabuse of a good
thyng shold cause the takynge awaye
therof frome other that wolde vse yt
well/ Crist shold hym selfe neuer haue
ben bozne/ nor brought hys sayth in to
the worlde/ nor god sholde neuer haue
made yt neyther/ yf he shold for þe losse
of those that wold be dāpned wretches/
haue kepte away thoccalyon of reward
from theym that wold with helpe of
hys grace endeuoure theym to deserue
yt. ¶ I am sure q your scende ye dowt
not but

The thyrde boke.

not but that I am full & hole of youre mynd in thys mater that y byble shold be in our englysh tonge. But yet that y clergye ys of the cōtrary and wold not haue yt so / that appereth well in that they suffre it not to be so. And ouer that I here in euery place almost where I fynde eny lerned man of theym / they mynd all set theron to kepe y scriptur from vs. And they seke oute for y parte euery rotten reason that they can fynd / and set them forth solemply to y shew / though the fyue of those reasons be not worth a fygge. For they begyn as far as our fyrst father Adam / and shew vs that hys wyfe and he fell out of paradysse wyth desyre of knowlege and cunning. Now yf this wold serue / it must from y knowlege & studye of scripture dyue euery man preste and other / lest y dyue all out of paradysse. Than say they that god taught hys dysciples many thyngys aparte / bycause the peple sholde not here yt. And therfore they wold the peple shold not now be suffred to rede all. yet they saye fether y yt is hard to translate the scripture out of one tonge in to a nother / & specyally they say in to ours. whiche they call a tonge bulgare & barbarous. But of all thyng specyally they say that scripture ys the fode of the soule. And that the comen peple be as infantys that must be fedde but wyth mylke and pappe. And yf we haue eny stronger mete yt muste be chammed afoze by the nurse and so put in to y babys mouth. But me thynk though they make vs all infantys / they shal fynd many a shewd brayn amōg vs / y can perceyue chalk fro these wel ynough and yf they wold onys take vs out mete in our owne hāde. We be not so euill tothed but y wythin a whyle

they shall se vs chamme yt our selfe as well as they. For let them cal vs yong babys & they wyl / yet by god they shal for all that well fynde in some of vs y an olde knaue ys no chyld. **Surely** quod I such thyngys as ye speke / ys the thyng that as I somewhat sayd before putteth good folke in fere to suffer the scripture in our englysh tōge. Not for the redyng & receyving / but for y byly chammynge therof / and for myche medlyng wyth suche partys therof as lest wyl agre wyth theyr capacityes. For vndoutedly as ye spake of our mo. ther Eue / lordynate appetyte of know ledge ~~that~~ meane to dyue eny man out of a paradysse. And mozdynate ys the appetyte whan man vnlearned though they rede yt in theyr langage / wyl be by fye to enserche and dyspute the grete secrete mysteryes of scripture / whiche though they here they be not able to p. ceue. Thys thyng ys playnly forbo den vs that be not appoynted nor instructed therto. And therfore holy saint Gregozy naziazenus that grete solemp ne doctour sore toucheh and reproueth all suche bolde bely medlers in the scrip ture / & sheweth that yt is in Exody by Moyses ascendynge vp vppon the hyll where he spake wyth god and y peple taryeng beneth / y y peple be forbo dē to presume to medle w the hygh myste ryes of holy scripture / but owe to be content to tary bynethe & medle none hygher than ys mete for theym / but re ceuyng fro the heght of the hyll by Moyses that y ys deliuered theym / y ys to wyte the lawys and pceptys y they muste kepe / and the poryngs they must byleue / loke well theruppon / and often / and medle well therwyth. Not to dyspute yt but to fulfyll yt. And as for the

for the hygh secrete mysteres of god/
 a hard terrys of hys holy scripture/ let
 vs know that we be so vnable to asced
 vp so hyghe on that hyl/ that yt shall
 bycu vs to say to the precheours apoynt
 ed thereto as the peple sayd vnto Moy
 ses/ here you god and let vs here you.
 And surely þe blessyd holy doctour saith
 Hierome gretefully complayneth and re
 buketh that lewd homely maner/ that
 the comen lay people men and women
 were in hys dayes so bolde in the med
 lynge/ dysputyng/ and expownyng of
 holy scripture. And sheweth playnely
 that they shal haue euill pefe therin/
 that wyll reke the self to vnderstand yt
 by the self wythout a reder. For yt is a
 thyng þe requyrez good help/ a longe
 tyme/ and an hole mynde gauen gre
 tely thereto. And surely syth as the holy
 apostle saynt Iohne in dyuers of his
 epytles saythe/ god hathe by hys holy
 spyryte so instytute and ordeyned hys
 chyrche/ that he wyll haue some reders
 and some herers/ some techers and som
 lerners/ we do playnely peruerre and
 turne vp so downe the ryghte order of
 Crystys chyrche/ whan the one parte
 medleth wyth the tothers offyce. Pla
 to the grete phylosopher specyally for
 bedeth suche as be not admittred ther
 vnto nor men mete therfore/ to medle
 myche and embespe theym selfe in rea
 sonyng and dysputyng vppon the tem
 porall lawys of the cytie/ wherch wold
 not be reasoned vppon but by solke mete
 therfore and in place conuenient.
 For ellys they that can not very well
 attayne to perceyue theym/ begynne
 to myslike/ dyspayse/ and contem
 pne theym. Wherof foloweth the bze
 che of the lawys and dysordre of the
 people. For tyll a lawe be chaunged by

authozyte/ yt rather ought to be obser
 ued than contempned. Or ellys the
 example of the lawe boldly broken and
 set at nought/ wareth a precedent for
 the remanaunt to be vsed lyke. And co
 menly the best lawes shall most lyke
 myche of the comen people/ wherche
 moste longe (yf they myghte be herd
 and folowed) to lyue all at lybertye
 vnder none at all. Howe yf Plato
 so wyse a man so thoughte good in tem
 porall lawys thyngys of mennys ma
 kyng/ howe myche is yt lesse mete
 for euery man boldely to medle wyth
 the expowryng of holy scripture/ so de
 upled and endyted by þe hygh wysdome
 of god/ þe far exceedeth in many place
 the capacitye and perceyuyng of mā. It
 was also prouyded by the emperoure in
 the lawe cytyle/ that the comen peple
 shold neuer be so bold to kepe dyspccios
 vppon the sayth or holy scripture/ nor
 that eny such thing shold be vsed amog
 the or byfore theym. And therfore as I
 said before/ þe specyall sere in thys ma
 ter ys/ lesse we wolde be to helpe in
 chammynge of the scripture our selfe/
 wherche ye saye we were able ynoughe
 to do. wherche vndowtely the wyseste
 and the best lerned/ and he that therein
 hath by many yeres bestowed his hole
 mynde/ ys yet vnable to do. And than
 fatte more vnable muste he ned be/ þe
 boldely wyll vppon the fyrst redyng
 bycause he knoweth the wordys/ take
 vppon hym therfore to teche other mē
 the sentence wyth parrell of hys owne
 schole and other mennys to/ by the
 byngyng men in to madde wayes/
 sectys/ and heresys/ suche as here
 tyques haue of olde broughte vppe
 a the chyrche hathe condempned. And
 thus in these maters yf þe comen peple
 myght

The thyrde boke.

myght be bold to chāme yt as ye say & to dyspute yt/thā shold ye haue y more blynde the more bolde/the more ignoraunt the more bysy/the lesse wyrt the more inquisyryse/the more sole the more talkatyf of grete doutys & hygh questyons of holy scripture & of godd grete and secrete mysteryes/and thys not sobzely of eny good affectyon/but presumptuously and vntreuerently at mete & at mele. And ther whā y wyne were in & the wyrt out/wolde they take vppō thē, w folysch word & blasphemie to hādle holy scripture in more homely maner thā a song of **W**byn hode. And som wold as I sayd solemply take vppō thē lyke as they were ordynary reders to interprete y text at theyr pleasure/ & therw fall thē self & draw down other w thē in to sedycyouse sect & heresy/ wherby the scripture of god shold lese hys honour & reuerence/and be by such vntreuerent and vnlytting demeanure amōg mych peple quyte & clene abused/ vnto y contrary of that holy purpose y god ordayned yt for. w here as yf we wolde no ferther medle therwyt but well and deuoutly rede yt/and in that that ys playne and euydent as goddys cōmaundementys and hys holy counsails endeuour our self to folow wyt helpe of hys grace asked therunto/and in hys great and metuelouse myracles consider hys godhed/and in his lowly byrth/ hys godly lyfe/ and hys bytter passyon/ exerceple our self in luche medytacyons/ prayour/and vertues/ as the mater shal mynyster vs occasyō/ know ledgyng our owne ignorance wher we fynd a dowte/ and therein lenyng to the fayth of the chyrche/ w restle w no such texte as myght byyng vs in a dout and werestye of eny of those acty-

cles wherin euery good crysten man is clere/ by thys maner of redyng can no man nor womā take hurt in holy scripture. Now than the thyngys on the rother syde y vnlearned peple can neuer by theym selfe attayne/ as in the psalmys and the prophetyes & dyuerse partys of the gospel/ where the wordys be somtyme spoken as in the parson of the prophete hym selfe/ somtyme as in the persō of god/ somtyme of som other as aungels deuyls or men/ & somtyme of our saupour **C**ryst/ not alway of one fassyon/ but somtyme as god/ somtyme as mā/ somtyme as hed of thys mystry/ call body hys chyrch mylytant here in erthe/ somtyme as hed of hys chyrche triumphaunt in heuen/ somtyme as in the person of hys sensuall partyes of hys owne body/ othertwhyle in the persone of some particulare parte of hys body mystryal/ and these thyngys wyt many other oftentymes interchaunged/ and sodaynly sondry thyngys of dyuers maters dyuerly mēgled together/ all these thyngys whych ys not possyble for vnlearned men to attayne vnto/ yt were more than mannesse for theym to medle wyt all/ but leue all these thyngys to theym whose hole study ys byset thervppon/ and to the precheours appoynted therunto/ whych may shewe theym such thyng in tyme and place conuenient wyt reuerence and authozite/ the sermon so tempered/ as may be mete and conuenyēt alway for y plent audiece. w herunto it appereth y our saupour hym self & his apostles after hym/ had euer a speyal respect. And therfore as I say forsoth I cā i no wyse agre w you y it were mete for mē vnlearned to be hely w y chāmig of holy scripture/ but to hane
yt

yt chāmed vnto theym. For that ys þ
precheours parte & theyrs / that after
longe studye are admittred to rede and
expowre it. And to this entēt way all
the wordys as far as I perceyue of all
holy doctours þ eny thyng haue wry-
ten in thys mater. But neuer mēt they
as I suppose the forbeydyng of þ byble
to be red in eny bulgare tonge. For I
neuer yet herdeny reason layd / why yt
were not cōuenyēt to haue þ byble trā-
slated in to thenglysh tōg / but all those
reasons lemed they neuer to gay & glo-
ryouse as þ fyrst syghte / yet when they
were wel examyned they myght in ef-
fect for aught that I can se / as well be
layd agaynst þ holy wryters þ wrote þ
scripture in the ebyre tong / & agaynst
þ blyssed euāgelyst þ wrote the scrip-
ture in greke / & agaynst al those in lyke
wyle that translated yt out of euery of
those tongys in to laten / as to theyre
charge that wold well and faythfully
translate yt out of laten in to our en-
glysh tong. For as for that our tong is
called barbarouse / ys but a fanteysye.
For so is as euery lerned mā knoweth /
euery straunge langage to other. And
yf they wold call yt barayn of word /
there ys no doute but yt ys plentiuouse
ynoughe to expresse our myndys in eny
thig wherof one mā hath vñed to speke
w a nother. Now as touchyng þ dyffy-
culty which a trāslatour fyndeth in ex-
pressyng well & lyuely þ sentēce of hys
author / whych ys hard alway to do so
surely but þ he shall sūtyme mynysh ey-
ther of þ sētece or of þ grace þ yt bereth
in the forme tōg / þ poynt hath lyē in
theyr lyght þ haue trāslated þ scriptu-
re all redy eyther out of greke in to latē
or out of ebyre in to eny of them both /
as by many trāslacyōs which we rede

all redy to thē þ be lerned appereth.

Now as touchyng the harme þ maye
grow by suche blynd hayardys as wyl
whā they rede the byble in englysh be
more blyþ than wyl bycū thē. They þ
touche þ poit harpe vppō þ ryght stryn-
ge / & touch truly þ grete harme þ were
lykely to grow to some folke / how be
yt not by thocasyon yet of thenglyshe
trāslacyon / but by thocasyon of theyr
owne lewdenes & foly / which yet were
not in my mīde a sufficient cause to ex-
clude þ trāslacyon & to put other folke
frowe þ benefyte therof / but rather to
make purlyon agaynst suche abuse / &
let a good thyng go forth. Nowyse mā
were there þ wold put all wepēs a way
bycause manquellers myse vñe theym.
For this letteth not as I sayde þ scrip-
ture to be fyrst wrytē in a bulgar tōg.
For þ scripture as I sayde before was
not wrytē but in a bulgare tong / suche
as þ hole peple vnderstode / nor i no se-
crete cyphers but such comē letters as
almost euery mā coud rede. For neither
was þ ebyre nor þ greke tōg nor þ latē
neither / eny other spech thā such as al
þ peple spake. And therfore yf we shold
lay þ yt were euyl done to translate þ
scripture in to our tong / bycause yt ys
bulgare & comē to euery englysh man /
thā had yt bē as euyl done to trāslate it
in to greke or in to laten / or to wryte þ
new testamēt fyrst i greke or þ old testa-
mēt in ebyre / bycause both those tōgs
were as very bulgare as ours. And yet
sholde there by thys reason also not
only þ scripture be kept out of our tōg.
But cuet þ shold þ redig therof be for-
boden bothe all suche laie people and
all suche prestys to / as can no more
than theyr grammer and very scanty
that. All whych company though they
can

The thyrd boke.

can vnderstand the wordys/ be yet as far from þe perceyving of the sentence in hard & doutfull tertys/ as were our womē of the scrpyture were translated to our own lāgage. How be it of trouth seldome hath yt ben lene þe eny secte of heretyques hath bygonne of such vnlearned folke as nothyng coude ellys but þe langage wherin they red þe scrpyture/ but ther hath alway comeli these secte spōge of þe pryde of suche folke/ as had no þe knowledge of þe tōge sū bygh plussyō in the self of theyz own lerning bysyde. To whose authoryte sū other folk haue sone after parte of malysce/ parte of symplenes/ & mych parte of pleasure & delyte in newfāglenes/ fallē in & encreaced þe fāccio. But þe hed hath euer comenly ben eyther some proude lerned man/ or at the leste bysyde the langage some proude smaterer in lernyng. So þe of we shold for fere of heretyques that myght happe to growe therby kepe the scrpyture out of eny tong/ or out of vnlearned mennys handys/ we sholde for lyke fere be fayne to kepe yt out of all tongys/ and out of lerned mēnys handys to/ and wote not whom we might truste therwpyth. Wherfore there ys as me thiketh no remedy but of eny good thing shal go forwarde/ somwhat must nedys be aduētured. And som folk wyl not faple to be naught. Agaynst which thyngys prouysyon must be made/ þe as mych good may grow/ & as lytel harm cū as can be deuyled/ & not to kepe the hole comodys fro eny hole peple/ bycause of harme þe by theyz owne folys & fawte may cū to som parte. As though a lewde surgeon wold cut of the legge by the kne to kepe þe fro þe gout/ or cut of a mannys hed by þe sholders to kepe hym from tothe ache. There ys no tre:

tyce of scrpyture so harde but þe a good bertuous man or womā eyther/ shall sū what fynde therein þe shall delyte and encrease theyz deuotyō bysyde thys/ þe euery prechyng shall be þe more pleassūt & fruteful vnto the whā they haue in theyz mid þe place of scrpyture þe they shall there here expownded. For though yt be as yt is in dede/ grete wylsedom for a prechour to vse dyscreciō in hys prechyng & to haue a respect vnto þe qualytees & capacityes of hys audyence/ yet letteth þe no thing/ but þe þe hole audyence may wout harme haue red & haue redy þe scrpyture in mynde/ þe he shall in hys prechig declare & expowne. For no dout is there/ but þe god and his holy spyryte hath so prudently tēpered theyz speche thowow þe hole corps of scrpyture/ þe euery man may take good therby & no mā harme/ but he þe wyl in the study therof/ lene prouedly to þe folys of hys owne wytte. For al be yt þe Cryst dyd speke to the peple in parables & expownded them secretly to hys espycally dyscyples/ & somtyme forbare to tell sū thyngys to the also bycause they were not as yet able to here them/ & thapostles in lyke wyse dyd somtyme spare to speke to sū people þe thyngys that they dyd not let playnly to speke to sū other/ yet letteth all thys nothyng the translatyō of the scrpyture in to our owne tonge/ no more than in the laten. For yt ys no cause to kepe the corps of the scrpyture owte of the handys of eny crysten people so many yerys fastely confermed in faythe/ bycause Cryste and hys apostles vled suche prouysyon in theyz utteraunce of so straunge and vnderherde mysteryes/ eyther vnto Jewes & paynyms or newly crystened folke/ excepte we wolde saye that all therpo-

scryons

speyngs wherch Criste made hym selfe
 vpon his owne parables vnto his se-
 crete scholers and disciples withdrawe
 from the peple. shold now at this day
 be kepte in lyke wyse from y comens/
 & no man suffred to rede or here theym
 but those that in his church represent y
 state and offyce of his apostles. which
 there wyl I wote well no wyse man
 say/consyderynge that those thyngys
 wherch were than comenly most kept
 fro y peple/be now most necessary for y
 peple to know. As yt well appereth by
 all such thyng. i effecte as our sayour
 at y tyme taughte his apostles a parte.
 wherof I wold not for my mynde w-
 hold the pte y one good deuout vnler-
 ned ley man myght take by y redyng/
 not for y harme that an hundred herety-
 ques wold fall in by theyr owne wyl-
 full abusyon/no moze than our sayour
 letted for the weale of such as wold be
 wyth his grace of his lytle chosen flok-
 ke/to come in to this world & be lapyd
 offensious/et petra scandali/the stone
 of stübling/and the stone of fallyng/
 and cūyne to all the wylfull wretches
 in y world be syde. fynally me thyn-
 keth that the constytucion purpnyall
 of which we spake ryght now hath de-
 termyned this questyon all redy. For
 whan y clergye therin agreed that the
 englysh bybles shold remayne wherch
 were translated afore wycklyff dayes/
 they consequentely dyd agre y to haue
 the byble in englysh was none hurte.
 And in y they forbade eny new trālla-
 cyon to be redde tyll yt were approued
 by y bishoppes yt appereth wel therby
 that theyr entent was y the bishoppes
 shold approue yt yf he fonde yt sawte-
 lesse/ & also of reason amend yt where
 yt were sawte/ but yf the man were

an heretyque that made yt/or the fald
 tis suche and so many/as yt were moze
 ethe to make yt all new than mend yt.
 As yt happed for bothe poyntys in the
 translatyon of Tyndall.

¶ Nowe yf yt so be y yt wold happely
 be thought not a thyng metely to be ad-
 uentured/to set all on a flushe at onys/
 & dash rashly out holy scripture in eue-
 ry lewde felowys tethe/ yet thynketh
 me there mighte suche a moderation be
 takē therin/as neyther good vertuous
 lay folk shold lacke yt/noz rude & rashe
 braynes abuse yt. For it might be w dy-
 lygēce well and truly trāslated by som
 good catholyke and well lerned man/
 or by dyuerse dryydyng the labours
 amonge theym/ and after conferryng
 theyr seuerall partys together ethe w
 other. And after that myght the wozd
 be allowed and approued by the ordy-
 naryes/ and by theyr authorytees so
 put vnto pzent/as all the cōpyes shold
 come hole vnto the bishoppys handes/
 wherch he maye after his dyscrecyon
 and wysedome delyuer to suche as he
 percepueth honest sad and vertuous/
 w a good monicyō & fatherly counsayl
 to vse yt reuerently wyth humble hart &
 lowly mynd/ rather sekynge therein oc-
 casyon of deuocyon than of dysprey-
 on. And prouydyng as mych as may be/ y
 the boke be after the decreace of the par-
 ty brought agayn & reuerently restored
 vnto the ordynary. So that as nere as
 maye be deuyld/ no man haue yt but
 of the ordynaryes hande/ and by hym
 thoughte and reputed for suche/as
 shall be lykely to vse yt to goddy's ho-
 nour & metyte of his own soule. Amōg
 whome yf eny be proued after to haue
 abused yt/ than the vse therof to be
 forboden hym/ eyther for euer/or tyll
 he be

The thyrd boke.

he be warre wyser. ¶ By our lady quod
poure frende thys way myssyketh not
me. But who sholde set the pryce of the
boke? ¶ For sothe quod I that reken I
a thyng of lytell force. For neyther
were yt a grete mater for any man in
maner to geue a grote or twayne aboue
the meane pryce for a boke of so great
profyte/ nor for þe bysshop to geue them
all fre/ wherin he myght serue hys dyo-
cyle wyth the coste of .x. li. I thynke or
xx. markys. Whych some I dare saye
there is no bysshop but he wold be glad
to bestowe about a thyng that myght
do hys hole dyocyle so specyall a plea-
sure wyth suche a spyrytuall profyte.
¶ By my trowth quod he yet wene I þe
people wolde grudge to haue yt on
thys wyse deliuered theym at the bys-
shops hand/ and had leuer paye for yt
to the prenter than haue yt of þe bysshop
fre. ¶ It myght so happē wyth some of
I. But yet in myne opiniō there were
in that maner moze wyllfulnesse/ than
wyledom or eny good mynde in such as
wold not be content so to receyue them.
And therfore I wolde thynke in good
fayth þe wold so fortune i fewe. But
for god the moze dowte wolde be/ lest
they wolde grudge and holde them self
soze greued/ that wolde requyre yt and
were happely denyed yt. Whych I sup-
pose wolde not often happen vnto eny
honest howseholder to be by hys dyscre-
cyon reuerently red in hys howse. But
though yt were not takē to eny lewd
ladde in hys awn hand/ to rede a lytel
rudely whan he lyst/ and than cast the
boke at hys helys/ or among other such
as hym selfe to kepe a quotlibet/ a pot
parlement vppon/ I trowe there wyll
no wyse man fynde a fauor therein.
¶ We take ryghte now of the Jewes/

among whome the hole people haue ye
say the scrpyture in theyr handys. And
ye thought yt no reason that we shold
reken crysten men lesse woorthy thereto
than theym. Wherin I am as ye se of
your owne oppynō. But yet wold god
we had the lyke reuerēce to þe scrpyture
of god that they haue. For I assure you
I haue herd very woorthyful folk say
which haue bē in theyr houses/ þe mā
coud not hyre a Jewe to syt down vpon
hys byble of the olde testament/ but he
taketh yt wyth grete reuerēce in hand
whan he wyll rede/ & reuerently layeth
yt vpon agayn whan he hath done. wher
as we god forgyue vs take lytell re-
gard to syt downe on our byble wyth
the old testament & the new to. Whych
homely handlyng as yt procedeth of ly-
tell reuerence/ so doth yt moze & moze
engender in the mynde a negligēce &
contempt of goddys holy wordys. We
fynde also þe amonge the iewes though
all theyr hole byble was wyrtten in
theyr bulgare tonge/ and those bokys
therof wherin theyr lawes were wyrt-
ten were vsual in euery mānyshand/ &
as thyngys that god wold haue comen
ly knowē/ repeted/ and kept in remem-
braūce/ yet were there agayn certayn
partys therof whych the comen people
of the Jewes of olde tyme/ both of
reuerence and for the dysficultye dyd
forbete to medle wyth. But now sythe
the beyle of the temple ys broken asun-
der that dryyded among the iewes/ þe
people from the syght of the secretyss/ &
that god had sente hys holy spyryte to
be assystent w hys hole chyrch to teche
all necessary trowthe/ though yt maye
therfore be the better suffered that no
parte of holy scrpyture were kept owt
of honest lay mēnyshands/ yet wolde
I that

I þ no pte therof shold come in theyr
 whych to theyr owne harme & happely
 theyr neryghbours to/ wold handle yt
 ouer homely/ and be to bold & bely that
 wyth. And also though holy scripture
 be as ye sayd whyle ere/ a medycyn for
 hym þ ys syk/ & fode for hym þ is hole/
 yet syth there is many a body soze soule
 spake that taketh hym selfe for hole/ &
 in holy scripture ys an hole feste of so
 myche dyuers byaunde/ that after the
 affectyon & state of sundry stomakys/
 one may take harme by the self same þ
 shall do a nother good/ and syk folke
 often haue suche a corrupte tallage in
 theyr taste that they moste lyke þ mete
 that ys most vnholysome for theym/ yt
 were not therfore as me thynketh vn-
 reasonable that the ordynary whome
 god hath in the dyocyle appoynted for
 þ chyef physycyn/ to dyscerne bytwene
 the hole and the syk/ and bytwene dy-
 sease and dyssease/ shold after hys wys-
 dom and dyscrecyon appoynte euery bo-
 dy theyr parte/ as he shold perceyue to
 be good & holysom for theym. And ther-
 fore as he shold not fayle to fynde ma-
 ny a man/ to whome he myght comyt
 all the hole/ so to say the trouthe I can
 se none harme therin/ though he shold
 comyt vnto some mā þ gospels of Ma-
 thew/ Mark/ or Luke/ whom he shold
 yet forbide the gospel of saynt Iohn/
 and suffer some to rede the actys of the
 apostles/ whom he wolde not suffer to
 medle wyth the Apocalyps. Many
 were there I thynke þ shold take mych
 profyte by saynt Dowlys epytyle ad
 Ephesios/ wherin he gyueth good coun-
 sayle to euery kynde of people/ and yet
 shold fynd ytell scute for theyr vnder-
 standyng in hys epytyle ad Romanos/
 conceyning such hygh dyscultyes as

bery fetwe lered men can very well
 attayne. And in lyke wyse wolde yt be
 in dyuers other partys of the byble as
 well in the olde testament as the new/
 so that as I saye though the bysshoppe
 myght vnto som lay man bytake & com-
 mytte wyth good aduysle & instructio þ
 hole byble to rede/ yet myght he to som
 mā well & wyth reaso restrayn the re-
 dyng of som parte/ and from som bysye
 body the medlyng wyth eny parte at
 all/ more than he shall here in sermons
 set out and declared vnto hym/ and in
 lyke wyse to take the byble awaye fro
 suche folke agayne/ as he proued by
 theyr blynde presumcyon to abuse the
 occasyon of theyr profete vnto theyr
 own hurt and harme. And thus maye
 the bysshop order the scripture in oure
 handys/ wyth as good reason as the
 fether doth by hys dyscrecyon appoyne
 which of hys chyldeyn may for his sad-
 kepe a knyfe to cut hys mete/ & whyche
 for hys wantonnes haue hys knyfe ta-
 ken from hym for cuttyng of hys syn-
 gers. And thus am I bold wythout pre-
 iudyc of other mennys iudgement/ to
 shew you my mynd in this mater/ how
 the scripture myght without grete pa-
 rell and not wythout grete profyte/ be
 brought in to oure tonge and taken to
 lay men and women both/ not yet me-
 nyng therby but þ þ hole byble myght
 for my mynde be suffered to be spred a-
 bzode in englysh. But yf þ were so mych
 dowted that parcase all myght therby
 be letted thē/ wold I rather haue bled
 suche moderacyon as I speke of or som
 suche other as wysse men can better de-
 uise. Now be yt vppon that I red late
 in the pyste that the kynges hyghnes
 translated in to englyshe/ of hys own
 whych hys grace made in laten answere
 ryng

The thyrde boke.

tyng to the letter of Luther/ my mynd
gyueth me þ hys maieste is of hys blyf
sed zeale so mynded to moue thys mater
vnto the prelats of the clergye/ amōg
whom I haue perceyued/ som of þ gre,
test and of the best of theyr own myn,
dys well inclynable therro all redy/
that we lay people shall in thys mater
ere longe tyme passe excepte the sawte
be founden in our selfe/ be well & fully
satisfyed and content. ¶ In good fayth
quod he that wyll in my mynd be very
wel done. And now am I for my mynd
in all thys mater fully content & satisf
fyed. ¶ Well quod I than wyll we to
dynner/ and the remanaunt wyll we sy
nythe after. And therwpyth went we
to mete.

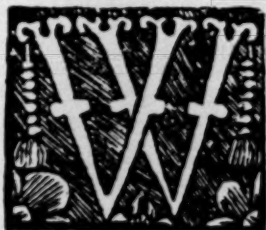
¶ The ende of the thyrde boke.

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The fourth boke,

The fyrst chaptyer.

The author sheweth wherfore yt were not well done/ to suffer Luthers bokis or any other heretykes/ to go abrode and be red amonge the peple/ though there were some good thyngys in theym among y bad.



When we had after dynet a lytell pauled/ your frende I dyeto our self aside i to y gardyn. And ther sittynge down in an herber/ he began to entre forth in to y mater/ sayng that he had well perceyued that not in hys cuntre onely but also in the bynuer syte where he had ben/ there were that had none euill oppnyō of Luther/ but thoughte that hys bokys were by the clergye forboden of malyce and euill wyll/ to thende that folk sholde not surely se and persaytely perceyue what he sayth/ or at the leste what thyng he meaneth by hys wordys. whych wyll not appere they thynk by a lyne taken owt in the myddys of a lese/ but by the dyligent consyderacyō of the hole mater. without whych mē myght impute a wozonge blame they saye/ to the beste wyrters that euer wote i thys world. But they thynke that the clergye wyll not haue hys bokys red/ bycause that in theym lay men may rede the prestys sawys/ whych was they say the very

cause of the condemnacyon. For ellys whycher he had wyrtten well or euill/ yet they say hys bokys had ben kept in mennys handys and red. For there ys they thynke therin though some parte were nought/ meny thyngys yet well sayd/ wherof ther was no reason that men sholde lese the profyte for the bad. And also reason men thynke yt were/ that all were herd that cā be sayd touchyng the treuth to be knowen/ concernyng the maters of our saluacyon/ to thentent that all herd and perceyued/ men may for theyz own lūctie y better chese and hold the ryght way.

Forsoth y yf yt were now dowtful and ambyguous whycher y chych of Cryst were in the ryght rule of doctryne or not/ than were yt very necesary to gyue them all good audyence y could and wold any thyng dyspute on eyther partye for yt or agaynst yt/ to thend that yf we were now in a wozog way/ we myghte leue yt and walke in some better. But now on y tother syde yf yt so be as in dede yt is/ that Cryst chych hath the true doctryne all redy/ as the self same that saynt Dowle wold not gyue an aungell of heuen audyēce to the contrary/ what wysdome were yt now therin to shew our selfe so mistrustfull and wauerynge / that for to serche whycher our sayth were false or trewe/ we shold gyue heryng not to an aungell of heuen/ but to a fond frere/ to an apostate/ to an open incestuouse lechour/ a playne lynne of the deuill/ and a manifest messenger of hell. In whych wordys yf ye wolde happely thynk that I vse my self to soze to call hym by suche odpouse namys/ ye must consyder that he spareth not both vntuly and wythout necessity in hys saylyng

The fourth boke.

lyng bokys / to call by as euill / theym
who his duty were hyghly to reuerce /
where as I do bytwene vs twayn call
hym but as hym self hath shewed hym /
in hys wyptynge / in hys lyuyng / and
in hys mad maryage . And yet I ney
ther do yt nor wold / were yt not that y
mater selfe of reason dothe requyre yt.
For my parte ys yt of necessitye to tell
how naught he ys / bycause that y wozs
the man ys the moze madnes were yt
for wyle men to gyue hys false fables
herkenyng agaynst goddys vndouted
trewthe / by hys holy spyryte taughte
vnto hys chyche / and by suche multy-
tude of myracles / by so myche blode of
holy martyrs / by the vertuose lyuyng
of so many blyssed confessours / by the
puryte and clenness of so many chaste
wydowes and vndefouled byrgyns /
by the hollosom doctryne of so many holy
doctours / and synally by the hole con-
sent and agreement of all Crysten peple
thys fyften hundred yere confermed.
And therfore not eny respect vnto hys
raylyng agaynst y clergye / ys as some
wold haue it seme the cause of hys con-
dempnacyon and suppressyon of hys
bokys. For the good men of the clergye
be not so sore greued wyth theym that
toche the sawys of the bad / nor the
bad theym selfe be not so tendered /
that for y onely talkyng of theyr fault
they wolde bannysh the bokis y were
good in other thyngys bysyde. For ell
could not the bokys of many olde holy
fathers haue endured so long / wherin
the bycys of theym that in the clergye
be naught / be very behemely rebuked.
But the very cause why hys bokys be
not suffred to be red / is bycause hys he-
resyes be so many / and so abhomy-
nab / and the prouys therwyth be pper-

deth to make theym probable be so far
fcome reason and trowth / and so farre
agaynst the ryght vnderstandyng of
holy scrpyture / wherof vnder coloure
of grete zeale and affectyon he labo-
reth to destroye the credence and good vsc /
and synally so far stretcheth all thyng
agaynst good maner and vertue / pro-
uokynge the world to wryng opynions
of god and boldenesse in synne & wry-
chednes / that there can no good / but
myche harme grow by the redyng. For
yf there were the substance good / and
of errour or ouerlyght som corle among
the corne / whych myght be syfted ow
and the remanant stand in stede / men
wold haue be content therwyth as they
be wyth suche othe. But now ys hys
not byspoyent wyth a few spottys / but
with moze then halfe benym poysoned
the hole wyne / and that right roten of
yt selfe. And thys done of purpose and
malysce / not wythout an euill spyryte
in suche wyle walkyng wyth hys wo-
dys / that the contagyon therof were
lykely to infecte a feble soule / as the
sauoure of a syknes sore infecteth an
hole body. For the trowth is not to be
lerned of euery manny mouth. For as
Crist was content not that the deuyl
shold cal hi godd / lone though it were
trew / so is he not content that a deuyls
lymme as Luther ys or Tyndal / shold
teche hys flocke the trowth / for infec-
tyng theym wyth theyr false denyng
heresyes bysydes. For lyke wyle as the
holy scripture of god bycause of y good
spyryte that made yt ys of hys owne
nature apte to purge and amend the re-
der / though some that rede yt of theyr
inuyncible malysce turne yt to theyr
harme / so do suche wyptyngys as Lu-
thers ys / in the makynge wherof the
deuyll

deuill ys of counsaill and gyueth ther-
wyth a byeth of his assistance / though
the goodnesse of some men mayster the
malysse therof / walkyng harmeles wth
goddys helpe / as the prophete saythe
vpon the serpent and the cocatryce / &
tredyng vpon the lyon and the dra-
gon / yet be such workys of theym self
alway right vnhollosom to medle with /
mete and apte to corrupt and infecte y^e
ceder. For y^e p^{ro}se wherof we nede none
other example / than this that we be in
hād wythal / yf we cōsider what good
the redyng of hys boke hath done in
Saxony. And thys fynde we moze thā
to myche p^{ro}ued here amonge vs / that
of .x. that vse to rede hys bokys / ye shal
scantly fynd twayn / but that they not
onely caste of prayer and fastyng and
al such godly vertues as holy scriptur
commendeth / and the chyrch commaū-
deth / and bertuo⁹ people haue euer had
in grete pyce / but also fall in playne
cōtempte and hatred therof. So that
what frute sholde growe of the redyng
ye may lone gesse.

¶ The. ii. chapyter.

¶ The author sheweth many of Lu-
thers heresies to be so abominable /
and som parte also so peuply / that y^e
bery bare reherfall is ynough wyth
out eny fether dyspycion theruppō /
to cause eny good man abhorre the /
and to be ashamed also to seme so fo-
lyshe as to holde theym. And for a
sample y^e author reherleth dyuers /
wherof some be netwe set forth by
Cyndall in hys englyshe bokys /
woys yet in som parte than hys may-
ster Luther ys hym self.

Ad in good sayth I wold wene
that eny good man except some
resonable necessity shold compell hym

therto / ellys wolde yf he herd but hys
opynyon onys reherled / be very loth to
lose hys tyme in the redyng / eyther of
his fonde p^{ro}se / or of the very tytles &
nampys therof agayn. ¶ yf they be such
in dede quod your frende and that they
be not mistaken or myseported. ¶ He
thynketh quod I that the frute whych
ye se spryng of theym / shold suffice to
make you perceyue theym for nought.
And ywys a freterys luyng y^e weddeth
a nunne when hys luyng ys suche /
shold make yt ethe to wyt that hys te-
ching is not very good. ¶ Surely quod
he I can not say nay but that thele be
shewde tokens. ¶ I shal quod I
do moze for you. For I shal fynde the
meanys that ye shal se his own bok /
and therein perceyue your self that men
belye hym not. ¶ I pray you quod he
lette me here some of hys opynyons by
mouthe the whyle / and for the seynge
of them in hys owne bokys I shal by
thynke me after.

¶ First he bygan quod I wyth pardōs
and wyth the popys power / denyenge
synally eny of both to be of eny effect
at all.

¶ And sone after to shewe what good
spryng moned hym / he denyed all the
vii. sacramentys / except baptyse / pe-
naunce / and the sacramēt of the awter /
sayng playnly that all the remanaunt
be but sayned thyngys and of none
effecte.

¶ Now these y^e helueth for good / it
ys good to se how he handleth theym.
For in penaunce he saythe / that there
neyther nedeth contricyon nor satisf-
accyō. Also he sayth that there nedeth
no preste for the helyng of confessyon /
but that every man and every woman
to / ys as sufficient to here confessyon
as toyle

The fourth booke.

assyle and do all that longeth to a confessor as ys a prestre.

¶ Mary sayd quod your frend this were an easy way for one thyng. For the so rest thyng that I fynde in confession ys that whan I see many confessours at a pardō yet can I scant lyke one of them so well vppon the syght that I wolde tell eny suche talys to onys in seven yere & I myghte chese. But now yf I myght after Luthers way be confessed to a fayre woman / I wolde not let to be confessed weekly. ¶ Ye wolde yf I peraduenture tell her a tale that ye wolde not tell euery man. But yet yf some men told som talys to a fayre woman that they tell in confession to a fowle frere / they wold wyllyngly I wene among that they had kept theyr counsaile in theyr own brest. ¶ Mary quod he that maye happen also in the confession that ys made vnto a prestre.

¶ Possible yt were in dede quod I. And Tyndall in hys booke of obedyence or rather dysobedience sayth / that the curatys do go and shew the bysshops & confessors of such as be cyche in theyr parishes / and that the byshopps there vppon do cyte them and lay theyr secret synnyngs to theyr charge / & eether put them to open shamefull penaunce / or cōpell them to paye at the byshopps pleasure. Now dare I be bold to say / & I suppose all the honeste men in this realme wyl say and swere the same / y this is a very folysch falsched ymagyned of hys owne mynde / wherof he neuer saw the sample in hys lyfe. We se in suer rather the contrary fault / that not onely the cyche but the poore also / kepe open queynys and lyue in open aduourty / wout payment or penaunce or eny thyng almoste onys sayde vnto the. But ther

wyth fyndeth Tyndall no fault in the bysshops. For he sayth playnely that bysshop hath none authoryte to punyshe eny such thyng at all. But he letteth not on the tother syde to belye the bysshops and the curat to saynyng that the tone doth better folkys confessions to the tother. And whan he hath so bylyed them / then forthwith as though he had proued hys tale true / he taketh the same fall fayned lye for a grounde ther vppon to byeld the destruccyon of that holy sacrament of penaunce. For vppon that lye and suche other lye / he sayth playnly that confessyon to a prestre is the worst thyng y euer was founde. Now yf y were trewe as yt is as falle as he that sayd yt / how happed yt than (whych questyon Luther & he be asked often and alway make as they herd yt not) how happed yt I say y of so many vertuouse wyse and cūning fathers as haue ben in Cristys chyrch in so many hundred yerys / neuer none had y wyl nor the grace to lyge this gret thyng / but all teche confessyon / tyll now that Tyndal cam / whych yet in this poynt passeth his maister Luther. For he saith he wolde in eny wyse haue confessyon stand / but he wold haue yt made at lybertye as well to women as men. But Tyndall wyl haue none at al / bycause he lysteth to belye both the byshopps & the curatys / saynyng that they sholde bytweene them dysclose our confessions. ¶ In saythe quod your frend that ys a thyng that I neuer herd to haue happened. ¶ For he neyther quod I that dare I boldly saye. And yet I wote well as ye sayd ryght now / that prestres shold better folkys confession were wel possible / and in many of the nothyngs in this worlde moze lykely neyther / yf god

of god and hys holy spryde were not
as yt is assyſtent and workynge woth
hys holy sacrament. But ſurely where
as there be many thyngys that well &
clerely proue the ſacramēt of cōfeſſō to
be a thyng inſtytute & deuysed by god/
yet yf all y remanaūt lacked/ thys one
thyng were vnto me a playne perſua
ſyon & a full profe/ whyche thyng I
fynde in the noble boke that the kyn
gys hyghnes made agaynſte Luther/
that ys to wyt that in ſo comen a
cuſtome of cōfeſſyon oſter than onys
in the yere/ where no man letteth bol
dely to tell ſuch hys ſecretys/ as bypō
the dyſcouerynge oꝝ cloſe keepynge ther
of hys honeſtye comenly & oſten tyme
hys lyfe alſo dependeth/ ſo many ſym
ple as be of that ſorte y here theym/
and in all other thyng ſo lyghte and
laues of theyze tonge/ and ſome the
woth ſo lewde in all theyze lypynge/
that for money they foꝛce lytell to
ſtele robbe and murder to/ and myght
many tymes woth the dyſcloſynge of
ſome ſuche thyngys gete ſo myche as
ſome of theym wolde kyll a man for
leſſe/ yet fynde we neuer eny man ta
ke harme by hys cōfeſſyon/ oꝝ cauſe
gyuen of complaynte/ thoꝝowe eny
ſuche ſecretes betred and ſhewed by
the cōfeſſoure. ¶ In good ſaythe
quod he thys is very trowthe and a
grete thyng in myne oppnyon. But
yndowtely yf cōfeſſyon came onys
to womens erys/ there wolde be a loze
chaunge. For yt wolde be harde for
god and the deuyl to/ to kepe theyze
tongys. ¶ Yes yes quod I a woman
can kepe a counſayll well ynoughe.
For though ſhe tell a goſſyppe ſhe tel
leth yt but in counſayle yet/ noꝝ that
goſſyppe to her goſſyppe neyther/ and

ſo whan all the goſſypys in the towne
knowe yt/ yet ys yt but counſayll
ſtyll: And therfore I ſaye yt not for
eny harme that wolde come by theym
but for the neweltye therof.

¶ Howe in ernest quod your frende
thys was a myche moꝛe madde inuen
cyon of Luther/ and that Luther is in
a maner as madde as Tyndall: For
it were as good almoſte to haue no
cōfeſſyon at all/ as to let women to
here yt. ¶ For ſothe quod I yf yt hadde
ben wyſdome and not agaynſt goddys
wyll/ yt wolde of lykelyhedde haue
ben founden by ſome good men by
foꝛe theſe dayes/ in thys longe tyme
of ſo many hundꝛed yerys. Howe be
yt he gooth nere ynoughe to take yt
all awaye. And dyuerſe of hys ſcoletys
byſyde Tyndall do nowe denye yt vt
terly. And hym ſelfe leuech lytell ſub
ſtaunce and lytell ſcute therein. For he
wolde that we ſholde not cate myche
for eny full cōfeſſyon of all deedly
ſynnyngs/ noꝝ be very ſtudyuſe in the
gatherynge of oure ſawtyſ to mynde/
noꝝ ponderynge the cyꝛcumſtauncys
noꝝ the weyght and graunte therof/
noꝝ takynge eny ſozow therfore. Now
theſe thyngys taken away/ and the ſa
crament of penaunce leſte ſuche as he
wolde haue yt/ conſyder in your ſelfe
what frute were a man lykely to fynd
in yt/ he y taketh a cōfeſſoure he foꝛ
ceth not who/ & the cōfeſſer he foꝛceth
not what/ dyſpoſynge hym to repen
taunce he foꝛceth not how/ good work
in ſatyſfactiō accompreth for nought/
what maner of amēdemēt ſhal this mā
cū to/ and ſpecyally yf byſide al this he
may take to his cōfeſſour a ſayd womā
ſuch as a yonge man wolde haue a luſt
to bꝛeke hys mynde vnto/ dothe yt not
playnly

The fourth booke.

playnely appere that thys fonde felow
so playeth woth thys holy sacrament
of penance / that he gooth about bet-
terly to dystrope yt. And yet ys thys
one of the thynges that he leueth / takyng
foure away expressely. ¶ Surely quod
your frende so dooth he this to as thyn-
keth me. ¶ Forloth quod I and he han-
deled the sacrament of baptysme not
myche better. For he magnifyeth bap-
tysme but to the suppressyng of penance
& of all good luyng. For therein he te-
cheth that the sacrament selfe hath no
vertue at all / but the sayth onely.

¶ Item he techeth that onely saythe
sufficeth to our saluacyon woth our bap-
tysme / wothout good work. He sayth
also that yt ys sacrilege to go aboute
to please god woth eny workys & not
woth sayth onely.

¶ Item that no man can do eny good
woth.

¶ Item that the good and ryghtuous
man alway synneth in doyng well.

¶ Item that no synne can dampne eny
cristen man / but only lache of blyf.
For he sayth that our sayth suppeth by
all our synnys how grete so euer they
be.

¶ Item he techeth that no man hath
no fce wpll / noz can eny thyng do ther
woth / not though the helpe of grace be
lorned therunto / but that euery thyng
that we do good and badde / we do no-
thyng at all there in our selfe / but one-
ly suffer god to do all thyng in vs good
and badde / as were ys wrought in to
an ymage or a candell by the manys
hande wothout eny thyng doyng ther
to yt self.

¶ Item he sayth that god ys as verily
the authoz and cause of the euill wpll
of Judas in betrayng of Crist / as of

the good wpll of Crist in sufferynge of
hys passyon.

¶ In matrimony he saythe playnely
that yt is no sacrament / and so saythe
Cydall to.

¶ Item that yt a mā be not able to do
hys dutye to hys wyfe / he ys bounden
secretely wothout sclauder to proude
a nother to do yt for hym. ¶ Forloth
your frende thys was courtely con-
sidered of hym / he ys a very gentyl-
man I wauare you. It ys no merueyl
though hys wyfe be well teempnge yt
he make her suche proupyon. ¶ Sure-
ly quod I thys wyle deuyse hathe he /
and myche other bestelynesse he saythe
in such thyngys and hys dysciples af-
ter him of such sort as honest crys could
scant abyde the herynge.

¶ In the sacramēt of order he sayth /
preste and all holy orders be but a
fayned inuencion.

¶ Item y euery cristen man and euery
cristen woman ys a preste.

¶ Item that euery mā may consecrate
the body of Crist. ¶ Thys ys a shame-
full saynge in good saythe quod your
frend. ¶ Abydere quod I and ye shal here
woule yet. For he sayth fether y euery
woman and chyld may consecrate the
body of our lord. ¶ Surely quod he thys
ys the man mad outryght. ¶ He sayth
quod I fether yet / that the canon of y
masse ys false.

¶ Item that y hoste in y masse is none
oblacon noz sacryfice.

¶ Item that the masse woth hys cand
after the fourme that ys and euer hath
ben bled in Cristys chyrche / ys sacry-
lege and abomynacon.

¶ And though myche of thys concei-
neth hys dāpnable heresy touchig y
blessyd sacramēt of y auter / yet saythe he
therof

therof many lewd doctrynes mo. And amonge other he techeth that yt ys heresye to beleue that there ys not very byede and very wyne in the sacramēt of the aucther (ornyd wth the bodye & blode of our lord).

¶ Item Swynglius and Ecolampadius scolers of Luther haue byelded fether bypon this vnglacpouse ground of theyr mayster and teche that the sacrament of the altare ys not the very body nor blood of oure lord at all.

And Luther hym selfe all be yt he now wyrteth agaynste theym there in / yet (as yt by many thyngys appereth) mynded and intended to putte forth by lapsour the same heresye hym selfe / tyll he chaunged bys mynde for enye that he bare towarde theym / whan he saw þ they wold be hedys of a secte theym selfe (for that cowlde he suffer no man to be but hym selfe) But byfore as I saye he dyd entende yt hym selfe. And therfore he made a way towarde yt by these other heresyes that I haue reherled you / and by dyuerse other mo.

¶ For he techeth also that the masse auayleth no man quyk nor dede / but onely to the prest hym selfe.

¶ Item he techeth that men sholde go to masse as well after sowper as byfore brekefast / and in hys comen clothes as he gooth all daye wythout lyght or eny other honorable rite vled therein.

¶ Item he saythe yt were beste that men sholde neuer be howe seled / but onys in theyre lyfe. And that neuer tyll they lye a dyenge / as they be bat onys crystened / and that at theyre begynnynge.

¶ Item he techeth that every man and

woman shold take the holy sacramēt / and spare not to touche yt and handell yt as mych as theym lyst.

¶ Item he saythe that the blyssed sacrament of the awter ys ordayned of god to be receyued / but not to be woꝝshypped. ¶ In sayth quod your frende these thyngys be farre owte of course. ¶ Ye see quod I now how he handleth all the blyssed sacramentys.

¶ But now hathe he other wylde heresyes at large. For he techeth agaynste scripture and all reason that no crysten man is or can be bounden by eny lawe made amonge men / nor ys not bounden to obserue or kepe eny.

¶ Item he techeth that there ys no purgatory.

¶ Item that all mēys soulys lye styll and slepe tyll the daye of dome.

¶ Item that no man sholde praye to sayntys nor sette by eny holy relikes nor pylgrymagys.

¶ By my trouthe quod your frende I hadde forgotten / that whan I was nowe in the vnyuersyte in the communycacyon þ I had w my frend there in that mater / one of theym objected agaynste me / that the woꝝshyppe of ymagys haue be ete thys condempned by a grete counsayll in Grece. ¶ Ther was i dede q I a counsayll onys in grece gathered by an emperoure / that ther was an heretyque there whyche was after in the eyghteth Synode by the generall counsayll dampned and annulled. But thys no moze doth to the mater / the yf there wold now in Sarony and Swycheberland and suche other plac such peple as swarne fro þ sayth gather theym selfe together and kepe as they wold call yt a generall counsayll

The fourth booke.

sayll / wherin they myght determine what they wold. And yet were all that no pzeiudye to the ryght byleue of the catholyque chyrche / whych ys alwaie that knowen people that styll perseuer as one body wthout saypout Cryst in theyr former fast confirmed sayth / fro whych saythfull body these other wytherynge braynches be blowne away by the deuyl. And therfore as yf cowld make none authoryte agaynst the true sayth of the chyrche / so could that counsaile in grece no thyng pzooue theyr purpose / whych made none interrupcyon of the ryghte byleue and godly custume of worshyp done to sayntys & ymages / that yet dyd for all that cōtinue styll in all the catholyke chyrche of Cryste / and euer synnys hath done.

¶ For sothe quod he that ys trouthe.

¶ Yet went neuer of yf counsaile in Grece scylmatycal as yt was eny thig so far as Luther and Tyndall & theyr company whych leue no saynt vnblasphemed / nor Crystys own mother neyther.

¶ For Luther can not abyde the comē anthē of our lady and the most deuout Salve regina / bycause we therein call that blessed byrgyn our aduocate.

¶ Item euery other woman now lyuyng yf she haue the same sayth maye by prayed vnto as our lady / and wyth her prayer as myche profyte vs.

¶ Item he techeth that men sholde do no worshyp to yf holy crosse that Cryst dyed on / saynge that yf he had yt hole or all the pceps therof / he wold caste yt in such a place as no sone shold synne thereon / to thende yt shold neuer be founden to be worshypped moze.

¶ Item of all feestys he sayth yf he hateth the feest of the holy crosse / and yf

feest of Corpus christi.

¶ He techeth also that no man or woman ys bounden to kepe and obserue eny bowe that he hath made to god of byrgynyte / or wydowed / or other chastyte out of maryage / but yf they maye mary at theyr lybertye theyr bowe not withstanding. ¶ And how pzooueth he that quod your frend. ¶ Wher quod yf by the bykyng of hys owne / whan he maried the nunne. And now he rapeth agaynst all chastyte / & sayth that yf a pzeite lyue chaste / he ys lyke to the pzeists of the ydole Gybeles.

¶ Longe wold yt be to wyte you all thabomynable heresydes of this newe secte. But some of theym haue yf reher sed / that ye may thereby consyder whyther he that techeth suche thyngys / go not about vtterly to dystroie the hole sayth / relygion / and vertue of crystendom. And that he is not in eny of these popntis bylyped / yf shall fynde yf meane that ye shall se yt in hys owne bokys. And there shall ye se how madly he laboureth to pzooue theym. ¶ Wzoue theym quod your frend / the substance of these maters be to abomynable to be reasoned. And to make hym hated of all good folke / ys ynoughe to here theym reher sed. But yf meynayl me mych how he fell in to suche an hepe of hyresyes.

The .iii. chapyter.

¶ The authoz sheweth by what occasyon that Luther fyrste fell to the deuysing of these heresydes. And that the occasyon was suche as well declareth / that he was pycked therto by malice / and euer proceeded frome euill to worse / not wpytting where to hold hym / & yf he refuseth to stand to the iudgemēt of eny folke erthely concernynge

concernynge the treuth or falsed of
hys oppynyons saue onely hym self.

Now that is somewhat worth to
consyder how thys lewde frere
bygan to fall in these myscheuous ma-
ters. we shall vnderstande that there
was a pardō obtained in Sarony for
whych the pardon as the maner ys ther/
Luther was the pzecheout & pzeched
to the peple/ exhortyng them thereto/ &
aunauncyng the authoptye therof all y
he possyble myght/ not wout hys grete
aduauntage therfore. So happed yt
than sone after/ that the setting forth
of the pardon wryth thaduauntage ther
of/ was taken frō hym and set to a no-
ther. For angre wherof he fell in to
suche a fury/ y forthwryth he bygan to
wryte agaynst all pardons. How be yt
because the mater was new & straunge/
he bygan fyrst by way of dowtyes and
questyons onely/ submytting hym self
to hys wrytynge to the iudgemēt of the
pope/ & desyryng to be enformed of the
trouth wheruppon whā he was by wry-
ting answered by y mayster of y popys
palays/ thā wared he moze wode & fell
to raylyng agaynst hym/ & made also a
nother boke agaynst the power of the
pope/ affirmyng y hys power byppō the
chyrch was neuer instytute of god/ but
ordayned only by the cōmune cōsent of
cristē peple for auoydynge of scylmys.
But yet he sayd y all cristē men were
bounden to stand and obay therunto/
and that y Bohemes were dampnable
heretyques for doyng the cōtrary. But
sone after whan he was in suchē wyse
answered by good and cūnyng men/ y
he preyued hym selfe vnable to defend
that he had affirmed/ than fell he from
reasonyng to raylyng/ and vterly de-
cayed that he had byfore affirmed. And

thā bygan to wryte that the pope had
no power at all/ neyther by god nor
man. And that the Bohemes whom he
had in hys wrytynge byfore called
dāpnable heretykes/ were good cristē
men/ and al they oppynyons good and
catholyque. Than whan he was cyted
by the popes holynes to appere/ he ap-
peled to the nexte generall counsaile/
whych sholde be gathered in the holy
goost. So that what so euer generall
cōsaile were after assēbled/ he myght
geste and rayle thereon/ & saye yt was
not it that he appeled vnto/ for yt was
not assembled in the holy goost. He
toke quod your frend a good wryly way.
As wryly as yt was y yet wold he
not stand therby/ but fledde frō that to
a nother. Now shall ye vnderstand/ y
yet sone after thys in y boke by whych
he not answereth but rayleth agaynst
that boke wherin our souerayne lord y
kyng lyke a moost saythfull vertuous
and moost erudyte pynce/ cūdyntly &
effectually reuyned and confuted the
moost venemous and pestylent boke of
Luther entytled the captuptye of Ba-
bylon/ in whych he laboereth to destroy
the holy sacramētyes of Cristis chyrch.
in that boke I saye Luther whych had
byfore appeled to then ext general cō-
saill/ vterly denyeth the authoptye
of all generall counsaillys/ and set-
teth theymall at nowghte. By my
trouth quod your frend eyther was the
man very necllygent byfore/ or very
naught after/ whan he chaungeth so
often/ and wryteth euer the longer
the moze contrary/ not to hys aduer-
sary onely/ but also to hym selfe. But
I pray you how excuseth he hys incon-
staunce. Mary quod I he sayth that
he seeth the ferther than he sawe before.

wherunto

The fourth boke.

wherunto the kynngys grace sheweth hym / that yt were vnkely / that he shold se better through a payze of euyl spectacles of ire & enure. ¶ **U**ery true quod your frende by my trouthe. But yet I here saye that he hath offered to stande at the iudgement of lerned men in all hys maters / yf hys offce had ben take i tyme. ¶ **I**n dede & I onys he p-mples to stande to the iudgement of þ hnyuersyte of Barps / & theruppon was there open dyspycons kepte / and the very word wyrtte by notaryes swoze for bothe the partys. But whan hys oppnyons were after at Barps by the hnyuersyte condemned / than he refused to stand to theyr iudgement / & fell agayne to hys olde craft of raylynge. ¶ **H**e appered also at woymys before the emperoure and the pryncys of the empyre by a luseconducte. And there recognyled and knowleged as well the sayde pestylent booke wyrtten agaynst the sacramentys / as many other of lyke sorte to be hys owne / and offered to abyde by theym. whiche he myght boldely do / beyng by the laufe conducte in good suretye of hym selfe that he coude take none harme. Than was he moued to dyspycons vppon þ articles / so that he sholde agree vppon som persons vertuous and wel lerned / y shold be iudgys of that dyspycons / and that he sholde be content to stand to theyr iudgement vppon the same. wheruppon he agreed to come to dyspycons / but he wold in no wyse agree to make eny mē lyuing iudges vppon it / nor stād to no mānis iudgemēt erthly.

The.iii.chappter.

¶ **T**he author sheweth how y Luther in the boke that hym self made of hys owne actys at the cyte of wo-

mys in almayn / doth so madly ouer se hym selfe / y he dyscloseth vnmare certayne folpes of hym self / whych a man wyl well laugh at and meruayle mych to se yt.

¶ **A**d that these thyngys be true / yt well appereth to all y world in the boke y he made hym selfe of his demeanure / and hys actys at the cyte called woymys in almayne. whiche boke who so redeth / shall haue a grete pleasure to se therein / both the scantyke baynglozy of y fond frere / & yet there wythal to se hym carped out with folp so far from hym selfe / that in a lyne or twayne he dyscouereth all that he wēt abowte to hyde in all the boke bylyde. For ye shall vnderstand that albeyt he made that boke hym self / yet he made it so that he wold yt shold seme to haue ben of some other mannys makynge & not of hys own / to thetent that suche wooshyppfull wordys as he spekerh of hym selfe / myght make hym in thetyr of the reder / seme some honozable person. whych wordys ellys he wyrt well spoken of hys own mouth / all y world wolde wonder on. Now in thys boke bylyde that he ieueth out som thyngys there sayde and spoken where the wordys wyrtten in coude do hym no wooshypp / and som thyngys recyterh wyth aduantage for hys parte / reherlyng y tother lyde nakedly and barely & pared of to make it seme the moze slender / one thyng he obserueth dyligently / that where as spekyng of the emperour he calleth hym neuer but simply and syn-gly charles / he neuer spekerh of hym selfe but he setteth for the hys name in grete capytall letters and solempne tytles / The Wā of God Luther. And where as they that spake agaynst hys

errours he wryteth that they blast out in to byzulent and benimoule word / whan he cometh to hys owne answer / than he wryteth in thys wyse / but thā D. Martine for hys incredyble humylyte & bountye answered in thys wyse benygne. And somtyme wyth these wordys / the most benygne father most mydely made answer. And fynally he fynysshed and enderth his boke as yt were wyth a Gloria patri to the hole psalme in this wyse / This holy deuout man therfore euen bozne to teche and ptesecue the gospel of god / our lord lōg ptesecue for hys chyrch wyth hys holy word also Amē. Now who was there euer bozne so suspytyo^s that euer wold haue suspected that he whyche wrote such glorious wordys of Luther shold be Luther hym selfe. For where shold a man fynde so very a baynglopyouse sole / that wold not in hym self be ashamed of hym selfe to thynke suche thyngys. But now ye that rede this / I pray you for godd sake se how vtterly this ych and ryklyng of banyte and baynglopy hadde cast hym clene bysyde hys mynd and memozye. For where as all the boke bysyde was so drypled & handeled / that it sholde seme some other to haue made yt and not hym self / sodeynly the fond felowe bewrayed hym selfe bynware. For in one place forgettyng hym selfe / he speketh in thys wyse / whan thys was spoken / than the ozarout of pempyre in a chydyng maner sayde that I had not answered to the purpose / and that those thyngis whych had ben dampned and determyned in generall counsayls of old / ought not now of newe to be brought agayne in questyon by me / and therfore I sholde geue a playn answer whyther I wold

reuoke myne errours oz not. Than bñ to this I answered in this wyse. Syth that yt ys so. x. Lo here may ye se the incredyble humylyte and lowly mynd of thys moste benygne father / whyche bñder the bysout of a straūge herald / bloweth out hym selfe his owne bofte. Chan may ye se thertwyth hys meruelouse pofounde prudēce / that had not the wyt to beware that hym selfe bewrayed not his own so folyshe deuyce / in the bayne auauityng of hys owne false bofte and prayse / that though the wordys had ben true / yet wold almost a very natural folse haue ben ashamed of hym selfe to wryte theym. By my trouthe quod youre frende thys deuyse was madly mynded of Luther / & madly handled / & madly ouersene / to shew hym selfe so fond / but yf pryde as the prouetbe ys must nedys haue a shame.

The. v. chapyter.

The authoz sheweth y parpetual inconstaunce of Luther / and hys contraryete and repugnaunce agaynst hym selfe.

Now as for hys cōstaunce appereth quod I by that I haue byfore reherced of his contynuall chaūge i his heresyes fro day to day / fro woyle to woyle / whych course he kept not one ly in the maters aboue reherced / but almost in all the remanaunt. For as concerning purgatozy / he wrote fyrste that all thought it coulde not be proued by euydent scrypture as he affermed / yet was there no dowte but that there ys purgatozy / and that thyng he sayd was of all crysten men feruently to be byleued. And than he wrote y he wondred of the madness of suche false and folyshe heretyques as were bozne wīn one hundred yere passed / and are not ashamed

The fourth booke.

ashamed to denye purgatory/whych the hole chyrche of Cryst hath beleued thys fyftene hundred yere. Now what constauce ys there in thys frete/that wrote thys of heretyques that denye purgatory/ and wythin a whyle after denyeth yt hym selfe/sayng in the sermon that he wrote of the ryche man & Lazare / that all mennys sowlys lye styll and slepe tyll domys day.

¶ **B**ary quod your frend thā hath som mā had a slepe of a fayre length. They wyll I wene whan they wake forgete some of theyr dremys. ¶ **B**y my fayth quod I he that beleueth Luther y hys soule shall slepe so long/ shall whan he dyeth slepe in shewd reste. ¶ **I** myche meruayle quod your frend what euill ayled hym to fynd out thys fond foly.

¶ **T**o thys oppnyon quod I/or rather to the saynyng of thys oppnyon (for I verily thynke that hym selfe thynketh not as he wyrteth) he fell for enuye & hated that he bare to prestehode / by the malice of whiche hys bngacious mynde/he rather were cōtent that all the worlde lay in the fyre of purgatory tyll domys daye/ than that there were one peny gyuen to a preste to praye for eny soule. ¶ **T**hys ys quod your frend verily lykely.

¶ **L**yke constauce quod I hath he bled in the mater of holy bowes. For in hys boke of the captyvte of Babylon / he wyrteth that neyther mā nor aungell ys able to dyspense w the bowe made by mā to god. And sone after he wrote that no bowe cowlde bynde eny man/ but that every man may boldely breke theym of hys owne hed. But yt well appereth that he wrote the fyrst of an gre and malice towarde the pope/ and than chaunged to the second of a leche

rous lust to the nutme that he mynded to mary.

The .vi. chapyter.

¶ **T**he authoz sheweth howe y Luther hath be fayne for the defence of hys vndefecyble errours/ to go back and forsake all the maner of pzofo & trespall/ whych he fyrst pzoumped to stand to. And now lyke a man sham full and shamelesse/ hath no pzofo in the worlde but hys owne word/ and calleth that the word of god.

¶ **I**s inconstaunte wpt and very deuply the entent specially shewod yt self/ by thys also whych I shal now reherse you. In the begynnyng y man had the mynde that comenly such foles haue / he rekened all the worlde wylde geze saue hym selfe/ and all the wpt and lernyng to stand in hys owne hed. And than wenyng that he shoulde fynde no matche/ but that he shoulde as he lyst be able to pzooue y more made of grene chese/ he pfoessed in his bokis y he wold for y pzoote or repzooue of hys oppnyons/ stand to naturall reason/ to the authozyte of the olde holy fathers/ the lawes and canons of Crystys chyrche/ and to the holy scripture of god wpyth thinterptacyōs of y old holy doctours. But sone after whā he perceyued hym self in hys oppnyon deceyued/ and that he saw hym selfe confuted and concluded euidently both by scripture/ naturall reason/ the lawys and determyncyōs of the chyrche/ and the hole consent of the holy fathers interptours of holy scripture/ than bygā he to syng a nother songe. For than as for reason he refused to stand to/ saynge that the maters of our fayth be thyngys aboue reason / and that reason hyndereth vs in our fayth/ & is vnto fayth an enmy.

And

And as for the lawes of þe chyrche/ he
 wryth other blasphemouse heretiques
 burned vp openly at wyrtteberge. syn-
 ginge in derpsion a byrge about the
 fyre for þe lawys soule. And tha wolde
 he stand to nothyng but only scripture/
 not to that retyther but yf yt were very
 playne & euident. But now yf yt were
 in questyō whither the scripture were
 euident for hym or agaynst hym/ ther
 in wold he stand to no mannys iudge-
 ment but hys owne. For as for the hole
 fayth of Crystys chyrch contynued by
 so many hundred yerys/ he let vtterly
 at naught/ calling yt mennys deuyce.
 And in scripture the interpretacion of
 saynt Hierome/ saynt Austayne/ saynt
 Ambrose/ and all the old holy fathers
 of so many yerys passed/ he no thyng
 wolde esteeme/ but with blasphemouse
 wordis letted not to wryte/ I care not
 for Austayn/ I care not for an hundred
 cyrranes/ I care not for a thousand
 Hieromis/ I care not but for scripture
 alone/ and that ys playn on my parte.
 As though none of these olde holy cū-
 nyng men had vnderstand eny scrip-
 ture tyll he came. Now was he by this
 vnreasonable maner dreue to a nother
 deuplysh deuyce agaynst sayntys. For
 to thetent that theyr authoryte shold
 no by the deuocyon and reuerence that
 all good men bere theym mynys hys
 credēce/ he was forced to labor to bryg
 men in þe heresye that they shold prave
 to no sayntys/ but wolde haue theyre
 ymagys drawen downe all/ theyr pri-
 gnymagys left vp/ all theyre relyques
 cast out/ all theyr honour and mennys
 deuocyon toward theym wythdrawē/
 so ferforth that he could neyther abyde
 the honoure of our blessed lady/ nor the
 holy crosse/ nor Crystys blessed body/

as playnly declareth hys abomynable
 bokys.

The. vii. chapyter.

The authoz sheweth what thyn-
 gys causyd þe people to fall in to Lu-
 thers fond and furpouse secte. And
 he sheweth also what myscheyf the
 folowers of that secte haue done in
 Almayne/ Lombardy/ & Rome.

I ys quod your frende a wonder
 to me/ that the people beyng be-
 fore brought vp in the ryght bylrese/
 coulde fynde in theyre hartys to gyue
 hym audyence in some suche heresyes
 as these be. We must vnderstand and
 maye perceyue quod I that he dyd not
 set forth all at onys. But as Tyndale
 hath bygonne here in englond wyth þe
 thynge that had a good bysage/ though
 he had corrupted yt and ment nought
 in dede/ puttynge forth the fyrst the new
 testament in suche wyse handled/ that
 vnlearned folk were lykly to take harm
 and conceyue dryuers heresyes in theyr
 hartys/ ere they coulde perceyue hys
 falschyd/ and than hath synnys by. ii.
 other bokys openly shewed hym selfe
 to lacke nothyng of Luther/ but that
 he hath not yet maryed a nūne/ so dyd
 Luther also put forth in þe begynnyng
 no moze but the mater of pardōs as I
 told you/ and therin nothyng affermed
 neyther agaynst the determynacion of
 þe chyrch/ but submytted hym selfe ther
 to. Nowe wyth this demeanure was
 there no man offended. But yet dyd he
 that tyme entende a ferther myscheyf/
 whych he lytell and lytell pursued and
 brought to passe. And one specyall thig
 wyth whiche he spred all the porson/
 was the lybartye that he so hyghly cō-
 mended vnto the people/ brynging the
 in byleue that hauig fayth/ they neded
 nothyng

The fourth boke.

nothyng ellys. For as for fastyng / prayer / and suche other thyngys / he taught theym to neglecte and set at nought as vayne and vnfrutefull ceremonies / techyng theym also that be- yng faythfull crystyens / they were so nere colyns to Crist / that they be in a full fredome and lybertye dyscharged of all gouernours & all maner lawys spirytuall or tempozall / except the gospel only. And albe yt he sayd that of a spetial pfectyō yt shold be well done to suffer and bere the rule and authozyte of popys pynceys & other gouernours / whyche rule & authozyte he calleth but onely tyranny / yet he saythe that the people be so fre by fayth / that they be no more bounden therto / then they be bounden to suffer wrong. And this doctrine also techeth Tyndall / as the spetial mater of hys holy boke of dysobedience. Now was thys doctrine in Almayn of the comen vplandysh peple so pleasauntly herde / that yt blynded theym in the lokyng the remenaunt & could not suffer theym to consyder and se what ende the same wold in conclusion cū to. The tempozall lordys were glad also to here thys gere agaynst the clergye / and the people as glad to here yt agaynst the clergye / and agaynst y lordis to / and agaynst all theyr gouernours of euery good towne and cytye. And synally so far went yt for ward / that at the last yt bygan to brast out and fall to open force and vyolence. For entēdig to bygyn at y feblest / they gathered theym together for y setting forth of these vngtacyouse heresyas / a boyly copany of that unhappy sect / and fyrste rebelled agaynst an abbot / & after agaynst a byshop / wherwith the tempozall lordys had good game

and spozte and dyssembled the mater / gapyng after the landys of the spyrytualtye / tyll they had almost played as Clope telleth of the dogge / whyche to snach at the shadow of the chese in the water / let fall and lost y chese that he bare in hys mouthe. For so was yt shortly after that those vplandysh lutherans toke so grete boldnes & so bygan to grow strong / y they set also vppō the tempozall lordys. whych had they not set hand therto y soner whyle they looked for other mennys landys / had ben lyke shortly to lese theyre owne. But so quyt they them self / y they slea vppō y poit of lxx. thousand lutherans in one somer / & subdued the remaūt in that parte of Almayn to a ryght miserable seruytude. How be yt in the meane whyle many myscheuo⁹ dedys they dyd.

¶ And yet in dyuerse other parties of Almayne and swyche lande / thys vngtacyous secte by the neglygence of y gouernours in grete cytyes / ys so ferforth grown / that synally the comune people haue compelled the rulers to follow them / whom if they had take hede in tyme / they myght haue ruled & led.

¶ And now ys yt to ppytouse a syghte to se the dyspytuous dyspyghys done there in many placys to god and all good men / with y meruelous chaunge frome all face and falschyon of crystendom / in to a very tyranous persecucion / not onely of all good crysten people quych and dede / but also of Criste hym self. For there shall ye se now the goodly monasteryes destroyed / the placys burned by the relygyous peple put out and sent to seke theyr luyng / or in many cytyes the placys yet standyng / with moze dyspyte to god than yf they were

were burned vp to ashes. For the religyous peple / monkes / frectys / & nuns / be clene drawe and dzeuen out / except such as wolde agre to forsake theyr howys of chastyte & be wedded. And the places dedycate to cleannes & chastyte / lefte onely to these apostatas and brothelles to lyue there i lechery. Now the parische chyrches in many places not onely defaced / all ornament wth drawe & holy ymagis pulled downe / and eyther broken or burned / but also the holy sacrament cast out / and the abhomynable bestys (whiche abhorreth me to thynke on) not abhorred in dyspyte to fyle in the pyres / & vse in many places contynnally the chyrches for a comen spege. And that in so dyspyght. full wyle / that whana straunger of other places where Cryst is worshypped resoztereth to these ctytes / som of those unhappy wretched ctyteyns saye not as it were for courtesye & kyndnes / to accompany them in walkyng abrode to shewe them the pleasures and commodities of the town / and tha baryng them to no place lyghtly but onely the chyrches / to shew them in derision what vles the chyrches serue for.

¶ Of this secte was the grete parte of those ungracyous peple also / whiche late entered in to Rome wth the duke of Burbon / not onely robbynge and spoylynge the cyte as well theyr owne frendys as the contrary parte / but lyke very best dyd also vpolate & wyups in the syghte of theyr husbandys / slew the chyldren in the syght of & fathers. And to extorte & dyscouerynge of more money / whan men had brought out al that enet they had to saue them selfe from deathe or ferther payne / and were at pectys & promyses of rest wythout

ferther busynes / than the wretched tyrantys and cruell tozmentours / as though all that stode for nothyng / ceased not to put them esclonys to intollerable tozmentys. And olde auncyente honorable men / those frecte heretiques letted not to hange vp by the prey members / and some many they pulled them of and cast them in the strete. And some brought out naked wth his handys bounden behynd hym / and a corde tayed fast vnto his prey members. Than wolde they set byfoze hym in his way other of those tyrantys wth theyr moysish pykes the poyntys toward the brestys of these poze naked men. And than one or two of those wretches wold stand byhynd those moysish pykes / and drawe the poze lowlys by the meimbres towarde them. Now than was all theyr cruell spozte and laughter eyther to se & seely naked men in shynkyng fro the pykes to tote of theyr meimbres / or for payn of that pulynge to runne theyr naked bodies in depe vppo the pykes. To pyteouse and to abomynable were yt to reherse the bylanouse payne and tozmentys that they deuyled on & seely women / to whō after that they had bestely abused the wyups in the syght of theyr husband / and the maydens in the syght of theyr fathers / they were rekened for pyteous & dyd no moze but cut theyr throtys. And very certayn ys yt & not in Rome onely but also in the countrey of Aylleyn that they kept and opppessed / after turmentys vled and money fet out that way / than some callynge hym selfe a genrylman in Almayne or Spayn / wold sayne hym selfe fallen in loue of his oostys doughter / and that he wold mary her in eny wyle / and than make mych

The fourth booke.

myche earnest bysynes for to haue some money with her. And whyther he gate aught or gate naught by that deuyle/ he leetred not sone after to putte the father/ the mother/ the saye doughter & all the hole howse to new tormentys/ to make them tell where eny moze money were/ were ther eny or none. And some sayled not to take the chyldre and bynde yt to a byrche/ and lay yt to the fyre to roste/ the father and mother lo- kynge on. And than begyn to comē of a pyece for the sparynge of the chyldre/ askynge fyrst an hundred ducats/ thā fyrty / than fourty / than twenty / than ten/ than fyue/ than twayn/ whā the sely father had not one lefte / but these tyrauntys had all byfoze. Than wolde they let the chyld roste to dethe. And yet in derpsyon as though they pytyed the chyldre they wolde saye to the father & the mother/ Ah fy fy for shame what metuayle ys yt though god sende a vengeance among you. What bnnaturall people be you that can fynde in your hartys to se your owne chyldre roasted afoze your face/ rather thā ye wold out with one ducate to deliuer yt from deth.

Thus deuyled these curled wyeches so many dyuers falsyons of exquysyte crueltees/ & I wene they haue taught the deuyl new tormentys in hell/ that that he neuer knewe byfoze/ and wyl not sayll to proue hym selfe a good sco- ler/ and surely render theym hys lesson whan they come there / where yt ys to be fered that many of them be by this. For sone after that they had in Rome excerplesd a whyle thys fyerce & cruel tyraunty/ and entred in to the holy chyrchys/ spoyled the holy relikes/ caste out the blessed sacrament/ pulled the

chalyce frome thauter at masse/ slayne prestys in the chyrch/ leste no kynd of cruelte or spyte vndone/ but fro howre to howre embzuyng the handys in blood/ & that in such wyse as eny turke or Sarycye wolde haue pytyed or abhorred/ our lord sent sone after suche a pestilence amonge theym that he lest not of them the thyrde parte alyue. For thys purpose I reherse you thys theyre heuy myscheuous delynge/ that ye may perceyue by theyre dedys / what good cometh of theyre sect. For as our sayour saythe ye shall knowe the tree by the frute.

The. viii. chapter.

The messenger sayth that the malice of the men ys not to be imputed to the secte/ syth that of euery secte som be nought. And the authour sieweth that in the lutheranys/ & secte selfe ys the cause of the malice that the men fall to.

For quod youre frende in good sayth I neyther ca nor wyl defende that secte. But yet reason yt ys to take euery thyng as yt ys. And yt be nought/ yt hath the lesse nede to be made worse. But as for the malycious cruel dealinge of me of warre/ is not in my mynde to be imputed to the secte of Luther. For ther is no sect so sayntly/ but they fall to cruelte whan they fall to warre. And of euery secte also be some badde. And therfoze & malice of the men ys not as me semeth to be imputed vnto & secte. It ys not & all one to be sum nought & all nought. But they that fall to this secte / war nought all the hole mayny. For forth wyth vppon thys sect ones begon/ the hole flockys of suche as were infecte therwyth/ fell vnto thole myscheuous dedys

dedys that I byfoze reherled you. And also though me in warre war furpou-
se and cruel / yet was there neuer none
that wente there inso far / & specially
in suche kynde of cruelte as hath ben
amonge crysten men in theyre warre
alwaye forborne / as ys the dyspytes
done to þe blessed sacrament / wherein
these bestys were moze hote and moze
busy than wolde the grete Turke / and
þe bycause theyre secte is yet in maner
wozle than hys. Moze ouer þe unhappy
dedys of that secte muste nedys be im-
puted to the secte selfe / whyle the doc-
tryne therof techeth and gyueth oc-
casyon to theyre euill dedys. A cry-
sten manys euill luyng can not
be imputed to hys crystendome. For
hys luyng ys contrarie to the doc-
tryne and luyng of Cryste. But as
for the doctryne of thys unhappy secte
and the luyng also of the begynners
of the same ys suche / as euery wyse
man well percepueth / doth teche and
gyue occasyon of theyre euill dedys.
For what good dede shall he studie
or labour to do that byleueth Luther
that he hath no fre wyll of hys own /
by whiche he can wyth helpe of grace
eyther worke or praye. Shall he not
say to hym selfe that he maye syt still
and let god alone.

¶ What harme shall they care to for-
bere / þe byleue Luther / that god alone
wythout theyre wyll worketh all the
myschyes that they do them selfe.

¶ What shall he care how long he lyue
in synne / that byleueth Luther / that
he shall after thys lyfe neyther fele
well or yll in body nor soule tyll the
day of dome. Wyll not he trowe you
saye as the welshman sayde. If thou

gyue her that day / by god Dauid wyll
haue thy cote to. And this thyng I say
but for a syle. For loke hys oppnyons
thorow / & ye shall fynd þe they playne-
ly sette forth all þe worlde to wredched
luyng. If they wold say þe we mysse
constrewe theyre word / theyre book be
open / & the wordys playne / & inculked
agayne & agayne so of ten & so openly
þe men can not erre therein / nor they by
eny cloke or colour defende them.

¶ And bys ydys that not only the coe-
nalte of theyre secte shewe the effecte
and frute of theyre doctryne by theyre
abomynable dealyng as I haue reher-
led you / but also the doctours and the
arche heretiques them selfe / well de-
clare the holynes of theyre doctryne by
theyre own luyng. For as they lyue they
teche / & as they teche they lyue.

The. ix. chapyter.

¶ The authoz sheweth that yt ys a
grete token þe the worlde ys nere at
an ende / whyle we se þe peple so far
fallē fro god / þe they can abyde yt to
be cōtent wyth this pestilent fran-
tyke sect / which no people crysten or
herthen coude haue sufferd afoze our
days.

¶ If the worlde were not nere at an
ende / & the feruour of deuocyon so
soze coled þe yt were almost quēched a-
monge crysten people / yt coude neuer haue
comē to passe þe so many peple shold fall
to the folowig of such a bestly sect. For
albe yt þe þe machometan beynge a sen-
sual & fylthy sect / did in fewe yer-
drazz þe grete part of þe worlde vnto yt / by þe self
same ways which now þe Luther as ble-
th ys to wytte voluptuose luyng
and vyolence / offeryng delyte vnto the
recepuours / and deth to the refusours.

yet

The fourth boke.

yet was there byfore this abomynable secte neuer eny secte so shamelesse/ that wolde styl auowe them selfe for crysten folke grauntynge the scrpture to be trewe / and therewithall so enemyously blasphem and oppugne y^e chyrch of Cryst / y^e sacramētis of Cryst / the sayntis of Cryst / y^e crosse of Cryst / the mother of Cryst / & the holy body of Cryst / so shamefully lypynge and openly professynge a bestiall maner of lypynge / cleene contrary to the doctryne and lyfe of Cryste. Charynyng / the Delagyanys / the Manycheis / and so forth the euery sorte of heretyques / bygan of luche as though they wyckedly erred in substauncyall artycles of the faythe / yet was theyre outwarde fastyon of lypynge so honest and spryтуall in apparence / that mē thought them selfe bounden the better to beleue theyre doctryne as crysten / for som spryтуall forme & fastyon of theyre crystē lypynge. But now y^e chrefteyns of these execrable heresies / both teche and vse more sensuall and lycencious lypynge / thā euer dyd Machomet. whych though he lycence mē to many wyuis / yet he neuer taught nor suffred his folk to breke theyre chastyte promysed onys and solempnely dedycate to god. wher as Luther not onely techeth monkys frerys and nonnes to maryage / but also beyng a fere hathe maryed a nunne hym selfe / and wyth her lypueth vnder the name of wedlocke / in open incestuouse lechery wythoute care or shame / bycause he hath procured and gotē so many shamefull and shameles companyons.

Who coulde haue byddē to loke eny mā in y^e face y^e shold haue don thus in saynt

Hieromes & saint Austyns days / what speke we of saynt Hierom & saynt Austeyn / who durst haue don it for shame eny tyme synnys Crystys by the vntyll cut wyched days. Or who synnys Adams tyme amonge the chosen people of god / what speke we of the chosen people of god / the very Paganys and Paganys ydolaters kepte theyre chastyte bowed onys to theyre false goddys / and rather chafe to cut of the mēbrys with whych they might breke yt than to stande in the iopardy to breke yt. And in Rome of olde tyme when they were Paganis / yf eny vestal byrgyn (for so called they theyre nunnes) were ydolatered / they not only bette the man to deeth wyth roddys in the market place / and beryed the woman quicke / but also rekened it for a wonderfull monster / and a token of wrath and indygnacyon of theyre goddys towarde theyre cyte and empyre / puttyng theruppon them selfe in deuoure wyth open processions and prayers and sacrefyce / to procure the recoverye of theyre goddys fauour. As it not than nowe a wonderoule case to se / synnys that the chastyte promysed onys to god / and also to the false ydols vnder the name of god / hath alwaye ben syth the worlde bygan / amonge crysten and hethen so hyghly esteemed / that the brekers therof haue alwaye ben by the commune consent of the hole worlde / as a thyng taught by god vnto good men / and by nature to all men taken / reputed / and punished as abomynable wyched wychedes / is yt not I saye nowe a wonderoule thyng to se that in y^e flock of crystē ple / which by Cryst hym self / by all his apostles

apostles/by all hys holy martyrs/con-
fessours/and doctours/by all hys hole
chyrch/all y hole tyme of these. xv. C.
per passed/chastyte hath be moze hygh-
ly praysed & estymed than euer yt was
of eny other sect syth the world bygan/
we shold se now a lewde fete so bolde
& so shameles to mary a nunne & byde
therby/and be taken styll for a crysten
man/and ouer that for a man mete to
be the begynner of a new sect/whome
eny honest man sholde bouchelaufe to
folowe. yf our lord god/whose wyf-
dom ys infynyte/sholde haue syt and
studyed to deuyse a waye/wherby he
myght caste in our face the confusyon
of our foly/how myght he haue foun-
den a moze effectuall/openly to shewe
vs the shame of our synne/than to suf-
fer vs that call our self crysten folk/to
se luche a rable spyngge vp amonge vs/
as professyng the fayth and relygion
of Cryste/let not to set at nowght all
the doctours of Crystys chyrche/and
lene to the only authoryte of fete tuk
and mad Maryon.

The .x. chapyter.

The author inueryeth against this
detestable article of thys vngtracy
secte/wherby they take awaye the
lyberte of mannyes fre wyll/and
ascrybe all thyng to desteny.

Surely as I say thys worlde ys
eyther after the wordys of
saynt Iohn/Cotus positus in malig-
no/all set in malyce/y we be sorzone
wytyngly to take so wronge a way/
oz ellys ys yt in a meruelouse blynd-
nesse/yf we can neyther perceyue by
nowghty lyuyng of the persons that
they secte ys nowght/nor can percey-
ue by theyre doctryne that they secte
must make theyre persōs nought/they

herelyes beyng suche as ye haue herd.
wherby euery mā that eny fayth hath
and eny maner knowledge of crysten
bylyse/may well and surely perceyue
that Luther and all hys of spyngge/wh
all those that fauour and set forth hys
secte/be very lymmes of the deuyll/ &
open enemyes to the faythe of Cryste.
And not onely to the fayth & manhode
of our sauyour Cryst/ but also agaynst
the holy ghoost & the father hym selfe/
and vterly agaynst all goodnes of the
godhede/as those that wretchedly laye
all the wyght and blame of our synne
to the necessitye and constraynt of god-
dys ordonaunce/ asseympnyng that we
do no synne of oure selfe by eny power
of our owne wyll/ but by the compul-
syō and handy worke of god/ And that
we do not the synne our selfe/ but that
god dothe the synne in vs hym selfe.
And thus these wretched heretyques
wyth this blasphemouse heresye alone/
lay moze bylaynouse rebuke to y grete
maieste of god/ than euer eny one ry-
baulde layed vnto a nother. For who
was there euer that layde vnto a no-
ther all the particulere euill dedys
of eny one other man/ where these
rybawldys laye to the charge and
blame of god/all the malyce and mys-
cheyse frome the fyrst sawt to the last/
that euer was wrought oz thought by
man woman oz deuyll. And by thys
grue they wretchedes grete boldnesse to
folow theyre fowle asseympnyng/as theyn-
gys after theyre oppynyō moze vterly
wroughte in theym by god/ than the
beste myndys be in good menne. And
that yt were therfore in vayne for them
to relyste theyre synnefull appetytes.
And yf they shall be dampned/ yet
they say yt shal be long oz they sele yt.

For

C.ii.

The fourth boke.

For Luther sayth þat al soules shal slepe & fele neyther good nor bad after thys lyfe tyl domes day. and thā they þat shal be dampned shalbe dampned he sayth for no deservyng of theyr own dede / but for such euyl dede as god only forced & cōstreyned the vnto & wrought in the hym self / vlyng the i all those euyl dede but as a dede instrument / as a mā he weth w an hachet. And þat god shal dāpne all þat shalbe dāpned for his own dede only which hi self shal haue done i the / & fynally for hys only plesure bycause yt lyked hym not to chole the as he dyd his chole peple. whō they say þat he chole in such wyse byfore þat bygynnyng of þat world / that they can neuer synne.

The .xi. chapyter.

The messēger sayth þat how so euer Luther & hys folowers in Almayn byleue / yet he cā not thik þat suche as be Lutherans in England / of whō sū he sayth haue semed good & honest be so mad & vnhappy to byleue þat all hāgeth byō desteny. wheruppō þat author sheweth cōtary / and þat they be noughte in dede seme they neuer so good. & for pfofe þat howe so euer they colour theyr word / they meane þat all depēdeth byō only desteny / he reherseth a certayn dyspyrō had w an heretique detected to the byshop & examined / the author beyng present / where the heretique beyng lerned & a pzechoure / made many shyftys to make yt seme that in hys euyl worldys he ment but well.

Hā your frēd had herd all thys he sayd at last þat albeit þat word of Luther semed very playn to ward þat affermyng of such oppnyōs / yet were þat thyngis so far out of all frame / þat yt gaue hym occasyō to dowt lest Lu

ther mēt not al thig so euyl as his wordys seme to way to. And yf he so ment hym self w other of his flock & assenpte in Almayne / yet thought your frend þat such as here fauour & folow hys sect in England / of whō sū seme ryght honest & far frō hys maner of lyuig / do not so take hys wordys nor vnderstāde the þat way / but cōstrue the to sū better sence.

For loth w I they cā not but kno his opē lyuig in lechery w his lewd lēma þat nūne. And þat all þat captains of þat sort / sū late cartusies / sū obseruaūtyes / sū of other relygiōs / & all now apostatas & wedded / lyue i lyke maner & techs othet the same. And by thys cā they not dout but þat theyr doctryne is nought / except the self alow þat way for good. now as for theyr own goodnes ye fynd feto þat fal to þat sect / but þat sone after they fal in to þat cōtempt of prayer & fastyng & of all good workys vnder þat name of ceremonies. And yf eny do othet wyse / yf ys for some purpose for the whyle to bynde the people and kepe theym selfe in fauoure / whyle they may fynde the tyme by leysoure to fallow and frame them better to theyr purpose / wherch in the begynnyng yf they shewed the self playnely / coude happely not abyde to here the. Of wherch theyr demeanure / & that in these herespes they inene herte no better thā Luther doth hym self / I haue had good experyēs / and amōg many othet thyng / thys þat I shall shewe you. It happed me to be lately present / where as one in þat Lutheran bokis depely lerned / & of trouth neyther in holy scriptur nor in secular lyttérature vnlearned / as I perceiue not only by þat testymony of othet men and by þat degrees þat he hadde taken in the vniuersyte / but also by hys wordys and his wyrtyn / was

was in the presence of right honorable virtuous and very cunning persons examined. For he was at that time in ward for herselfe/ because that being learned and brought to these confessions/ among many folk metely well allowed in preaching/ and thereby growing in good opinion and favour of many good simple people/ abused all these open and apparent good things/ to the secret lowering and setting forth of Luthers heresies. And had for the intent not only taught and wrote a covertly corrupted doctors light and lewd lessons/ but also had bought great number of books of Luther and Wycliffe/ Huss/ and Zuingly/ and such other heresyques/ and of many other sorte dyuers books/ to be delivered at he could find occasion unto young scholars of the universities/ such as he thought of youth and lightness most likely to be soon corrupted. This man I say being examined and long keeping himself close from disclosing of his matter/ and more ready to go straight to the devil with lying and false forswearing/ than to be acknowledged of his evil demeanour and confess his truth/ at the last perceiving his matters partly by his confession of other folk/ partly by his own hard writing/ so set forth come to light that they could in no wise be cloaked/ than began he thus what plainly to confess and declare/ not only what he had done for the setting forth of the secte/ but also partly what opinions he and other his fellows had holden and were of. Setting never the less all the colours he could to make it seeme/ that though his words whyche they spake or wrote were straunge and contrary to right bylawe/ yet the effect of their meaning was not much discrepant from the true sayinge of Christs church. How be it what he was reasoned was/ and saw that he could not so easily get off/ but for every colour he

could fynde one parte of his tale ever contraryed another/ at last he shewed plainly their opinions/ and layd forth as in parte for his own excuse as thinge enducing him thereto/ all the text of scripture/ by which they tried to prove their opinions true. Among which the opinions which he came to the opinion/ by which they holde the only faith alone is sufficient without good works/ unto that he sayd in the beginning that they met nothing ellys thereby/ but men should put their faith in god/ and relye and hope to be saved thereby/ and that they should not put their trust in their works/ for they would turne the roperde. ¶ The was answered hym that he and his fellows could not mene so. For if they dyd/ than could they not blame the church as they do/ making as though the church had all this while hid the true faith from the people/ and that the self were now shent for preaching the gospel truly. For if this were their meaning/ they themselves met none other than every comen preacher of the church hath alway preached before Luthers daies. For what preacher hath not told the people the pable of the poore publicly ashamed of his liues/ and the proud pharisee boasting of his vertues/ who hath not bidden the do well. And albe it that god will reward the for their good deed/ yet put not their trust in the self and their own deed/ but in gods goodness. who hath not told the that they should as god biddeth the in the gospel that what they have done all that they can do/ yet say to the self we be but unprofitable servants/ we have done but our duty. ¶ These things and such other the church hath alway taught/ against the putting of a proud trust in our own deed/ because that we can not alway surely iudge our own deed for the blind favour that we bere toward our self/ and therefore was it sayd to him/

The fourth boke.

if ye ment but thus as the chyrche me-
neth/ than wolde ye preche but as the
chyrche precheth/ and not blaspheme þ
chyrch in your sermons/ as though ye
bygan true preachinge of the gospell/ &
that the chyrche had hitherto preached
falle. And also ye must nedys mene su
other thyng. For Luther whose sect ye
confesse that ye haue lened vnto/ wy-
teth in thys mater fatte otherwysle.
For he sayth playne that saythe alone
wythout eny good workys both iusty-
fyed vs and iustifyeth for our saluacion.
Then answered he that there in they
ment none other/ but that sayth ys suf-
ficient alone/ yf one happen after he
haue sayth and baptysme to dye ere he
haue tyme to do eny good work. Tha
was yt sayde vnto hym/ yf they sholde
teche thys oppynyon vnder suche wo-
rds for a great secretes mystry newe
foude oute/ and therby blame þ chyrch
for mystechnge the people/ as though
þ chyrch taught theym to put lesse trust
in god and in sayth of Cryste tha they
shold do/ & induced theym to put theyr
trust in them self and theyr own good
workys/ they bled theym selfe metue-
lously/ consyderynge that yf they met
none other/ the chyrche and they ment
all one thyng. But they coulde not
mene so. For than why shold they bla-
me the chyrche/ that sayth not the con-
trary. And also yf they ment none o-
ther thyng/ few wordys wolde serue
them. They shold not nede so often to
speke therof. For than that tale can do
sprell good here or eny where ellys
wher folk be crystened i theyr cradels.
For eyther they dye ere they haue tyme
to do good workys/ and than they be
to yonge to here that sermon/ or ellys
they lyue & haue tyme to do good wo-

kyss. And than that sermon were not
hol some for theym/ that good workys
nede not but onely sayth ys sufficient
wythout theym. And when the peple
take it as ye speke yt/ that sayth alone
ys ynough for theym/ than ys yt now
a bare glose for you to saye that ye met
not so/ but onely that sayth alone had
be ynough for them/ yf they had dyed
in theyr swadlyng cloutis. ¶ To this
he sayd that they thought also þ sayth
alone dothe iustifye a man wythoute
eny good workys/ not onely in chylde
but also in euery age. For whan so euer
a man that hath ben a synner dothe re-
pent and amend in hys mynde wyth a
full saythe in the promysys of god/ he
ys iustified ere euer he do eny of these
good workys/ almyse/ fasting/ or eny
suche other. For he can not worke well
tyll he be good all cedy. For as Cryste
saythe/ Arbor mala non potest bonum
fructu facere/ an euill tre can not bryg
forth good fruite/ and therfore sythe
good workys be good frute/ an euill
man can not worke theym. Wherby yt
appeteth well that the man ys iusty-
fied byfore by hys sayth alone woute
the workys/ and the out of that sayth
groweth the good frute of good wo-
kys. But saythe dyd iustifye the man
byfore/ and the man was as good by-
fore the workys as he is after. For his
sayth dyd iustifye hym. And as for the
workys be but thyngys that the sayth
in the man or the mā by the sayth byrn-
geth forth/ as the tree byrngeth forth
hys leuys and can do none other/ faith
beyng in þ harte. ¶ Then was yt sayd
vnto hym that in thys tale he seemed to
make the good workys to be mychlyke
a shadow that the body maketh of ne-
cessyte whyle yt standeth in the sonne/

and

and ys neuer the better therfore. And then was yt asked hym whyther a mā must not yf hys fayth shall serue hym haue charyte therwyth and a purpose to do good work. **N**es quod he that he must yf he haue age and dyscrecyō ther to. Then was yt answered hym that then was all goone that hym selfe had sayd byfore. For than dyd not faythe alone iustifye the mā / but the charyte wyth the purpose of good work / must by his owne grauntyng nedys go ther wyth / or ellys wold hys fayth iustifye nothyng at all. For yf he had neuer so grete a fayth and neuer so sure a bylyef in goddys promyses / yet yf he purposed to do no good dedys therwyth / but per aduenture harme / he shold haue lytell iustifycacyon by hys only fayth. And therfore yt was falle that he had sayd a man ys neuer y better for hys good workys / whyle hys good workys be so taken and repated wyth god / that the purpose of them yet vndone so farforth worketh to hys iustifycacyon / that w out that purpose he cā not be iustified. And yt ys also falle that he sayd that faythe alone iustifyeth a man / whan hym selfe ys fayn to graūt that fayth wythout charyte and purpose of good work cā not iustifie / which is as much to say as fayth alone can not iustifye. **T**o thys he answered y he had sayd that fayth onely was suffycient / and that fayth alone doth iustifye / bycause that yf a man had fayth / yt coulde not be but y he sholde worke good work. For fayth he sayd coulde neuer be ydel / as the fyre must nedys burne and gyue hie. And therfore as a man maye saye the fyre ys ynough to burne a tre though he speke nothyng of hie / and yet the fyre doth yt by hie / and a man

may say y fyre maketh me se by nyght and yet the fyre dothe yt but by the lyght / so may a mā say that fayth doth saue vs / though fayth do yt wythout hope and charyte and other vertuose workys / bycause that faythe hath alway good hope and charyte wyth yt / & can not but worke well / no more than the fyre can be wythout hie & lyght and burne all combustible thyngys y it may toweche and tary wyth. **T**hen was yt sayde vnto hym that albe yt a man might so speke by y fyre / yet wold not thys thyng serue theyr secte. For he that sayth fyre alone ys ynough to burne / wolde not say nay to hym that wold say the fyre could not burne but yf had hie. But your secte seorneth & blameth the chyrch / bycause the chyrch saythe that fayth wyll not suffylye but yf yt haue charyte and good workys. For ellys ye had no cause in thys mater to preche contrary to the chyrch. **N**owe ouer where ye say that fayth hath alwaye good hope wyth yt / that seemeth not alway trewe. For he that hopeth y by fayth alone he shall be saued wythout eny good workys / as Lutherans do byleue in dede / he hath an euyl hope and a dampnable. **N**ow where ye saye that ye preche / fayth alone to be suffycient bycause that fayth hath alwaye charyte ioyned therwyth / yf thys were trewe / why preche ye not as well that charyte alone ys suffycient / whyche were as nere the trouthe as the rocher. **N**ow where ye make all the grounde bypon thys / that fayth hath euery charyte therwyth / and that yt can not be but that charyte whyche ys in dede y thyng that specyally byngeth forth good workys mych more properly thā fayth / for fayth byngeth theym forth
by

The fourth booke.

by charyte whē it is ioynd therwyt/
as the apostle sayth / fides que per di-
lectionem operatur / sayth worketh by
cheryte where ye saye yt can not be but
þ this charyte ys alwaie ioynd vnto
sayth / this grounde wyll fayle you / &
make all your foundacyon false / & all
your byldyng fall. Chapostell Doule i
many placis of hys epytles sayth the
contrary therof. For he sayth that yf a
man haue so grete sayth that he myght
by the force of hys sayth worke myra-
cles / and also such feruent affectyon to
þ sayth þ he wold geue his body to the
fyrre for the desce therof / yet yf he lac-
ked charyte / all hys sayth suffyled not
¶ In good sayth quod your frende he
was well and ppeily answered. But
yet me thiketh he myght haue replyed
a lytell agayne to thole wordys of saie
Doule / and myght haue auoyded them
well wth other wordys of his owne.
For where he wyrteth also to þ Gala-
thes / þ yf any angell wold com downe
from heuen & preche a contrary gospell
to that that he had preched all redy /
accursed shold he be and not to be byle-
ued / he dyd not in these wordys asser-
me noz entend therby þ euer yt shold so
be / or coulde so be / that any angell so
shold do in dede. For he knew ryght
well yt was impossyble that any angel
of heuen shold come downe and tell a
falle tale. But he sayd yt onely by a ma-
ner of speking which is among lerned
men called yperbole / for the more be-
heinet expessyng of a mater / no thyng
menyng ellys but þ the gospell whych
he had preched / was the playne sure &
vndowtable trowth / against which no
man were to be byleued. And in lyke
wyse me thynketh the man that ye spe-
ke of myght haue sayd / þ though saynt

Doule sayd / If he had so grete sayth þ
he were able therby to remoue hyllys /
excepte he had cheryte therwyt woulde
not serue hym / he ment therby no moze
but to shew þ grete nede that men haue
to cheryte / and not that yt were possy-
ble that saith could be without cheryte /
no moze than he ment that an aungell
may come down from heuen to preche
a falle sayth. And therfore myghte yt
yet stande ryghte well wth all those
wordys of saynt Doule / that say he
can not fayle of saluacyon / lyth yt can
not fayll of charyte. And of trowth me
semeth as that man sayd that sayth
can not be ydle but yt must nedys wor-
ke well. ¶ Forsoth quod I the mā lac-
ked you there / for he founde not that
glose. Wherby though he had / yet wold
yt not haue serued hym. For bytwene
thole two placys of saynt Doule ys
there grete dyfference. For in the tone
ys there an impossyble excess and yper-
bole / in the tother is there not so. For
aungels of heuen neuer can come down
and teche a falle sayth. But sayth may
be seuered from charyte. And in þ tone
place he none other thyng entendid
than as ye saye to shewe by that great
excedyng word / the vndowred trowth
of the sayth wherby hym self had pre-
ched. But in the tother place hys spe-
cyall purpose was to teche the Gala-
thes / that they sholde neyther trust þ
eny gyft of nature / or gyft of god abo-
ue nature / or any maner vertue / al-
moyle dede / sayth / or other / were able
to stande them in stede wthout chery-
te. And this dyd he specyally / for that
he wold that no man shold be in suche
errour / as to reken that eyther excellēt
gyfte of cunnynge / great labour spent
in prechyng / great almoyle spent on
poore

poze people / or a very feruent fayth / myght suffyse to theyr saluacyō yf cheryte lacked. Agaynst whych errour he doth in such wyse exhorthe them to cheryte / in a wordyng the rankour / which by occasyon of seylmes dyd aryse amōg that that he shewed them p̄cypely / yf wythout cheryte they losse clerely the mercyte of all theyr other vertues and gracyes yf god had geue them / cūnyng / almyse dede / fayth / and all / puttynge the example by hys owne selfe / whyche though he were a chosen scruaunt and apostle / yet yf he were i langage egall wyth all yf hole world and w̄ angellys to / and had all yf cūnyng that possyble could be had / and the spirite of all prophete therwyth / & wold geue all hys goodys in almyse / and had also all the full fayth so grete that yt sufficed to worke woundes wyth / and so feruent that he wold abyde to be burned for yt / yet yf he lacked cheryte / all thys wolde not serue hym. So that ye may se now that your glose wold not haue releued this mā. For though none angell could come downe and teche an vntrowth / & therfore the wordys yf ye alledge can be none otherwyse takē than as ye say by way of excusse and p̄etbole / to declare the vehemence of hys mynde in the mater of fayth which he than spake of / yet this other place of saynt poule that was layed agaynst that heretyque that I speke of / as grete and vehement as the wordys be / yet do they playnely proue that the apostle sheweth / yf fayth may be wythout cheryte / & that both so grete that yt may suffyse to yf doynge of grete wonders / and so feruent that yt may suffice a paynful deth / and yet for faute of charyte not suffycēt to saluacyō / and that this may happe as wel

in fayth as in almyse dede / whyche yf appostle putteth in the same case. And therfore where that man sayde and ye seme to conferme the same / that fayth can not be ydle frō yf workyng of good workys / the appostle to shew the contrary / and that all yf workys of faythe though they seme neuer so good / be yet nought in dede yf they be not wrought w̄ charite / comēdith only yf faith yf workyng by charyte / sygnifyeth yf all other workys of fayth be not auaylable. And surely faythe alone wythout charyte may be bysydys thys not only ydle w̄ oute the busyness of good workys / but also for lacke of good workys yt may be vterly dede. And therfore as it was there objected vnto that man / yf holy appostle James sayth to them that taken fayth suffycēt for saluacyō wythout good workys / that they be worse thā deuyls. For he sayth yf yf deuyls do byleue / & tremble for yf fere of god. And yf men whych by yf hope & boldnesse of theyr byleue thynke theyr fayth w̄out good workys suffycēt / be worse than deuyls / bcause they stande owt of drede of god / that manasseth vnto the paynes of hell except they do good workys. Wythout whiche saynt James for a fynall conclusyon sayth that the fayth ys but dede.

¶ After suche resonynge the man sayd yf he and thother Lutherans whā they spake that only fayth was suffycēt / they meane not of a dede fayth that ys wythout charyte and good workys / but a very fayth that ys quicke & worketh by charyte / and that such faythe he thought was suffycēt. ¶ But than was yt answered / that neyther they nor he coulde meane so. For how could they call that thyng fayth onely that

The fourth boke.

ys ioynd with charyte and good woꝝ-
kys. **Q** howe can yt stande that they
meane that saythe whyche by charyte
worketh good woꝝkys/whan they say
that yt ys suffycient alone wythoute
good woꝝkys/ and that yt ys as Lu-
ther sayth grete synne and sacrilege to
to go about to please god by good woꝝ-
kys/ and not by only fayth. How could
they say that only fayth suffyleth/ yf
they shold meane that wythout chary-
te and good woꝝkys no fayth suffyleth
foz yt were a mad thyng to save that
saythe alone suffyleth wythoute good
woꝝkys/ & theris to say y is out good
woꝝkys fayth suffyleth nothyng. And
so was yt sayd vnto hym that therfore
though they colour theyr maters whā
they be examyned/ yet it can not be but
that he and other Lutheranyss whete
they sowe theyr heresye/ meane playn-
ly as they speke/ y folke nede no more
but byleue/ and than how so euer they
lyue shal make no mater. Foz no thing
as Luther saythe can dampne a cry-
sten man/ saue onely lacke of byle-
ue. Foz all other synmys yf byleue and
fayth stand fast/ be quyte absoꝝpte and
supped by he sayth in that fayth.

Whan thys man was wyth such re-
sonyng and myche better than I do oz
can reherse you somewhat soze pꝛeced
vppon/ than brought he forth a nother
glose and sayd/ that they meaned not
but that fayth yf yt shold suffyle foz sal-
uacyon/ must nedys haue wythyt cha-
ryte and good woꝝk/ oz ellys yt were
no very fayth/ as a dede man ys no be-
tyng man. How be it he sayd that though
yt be no thyng wythout good woꝝk/
yet whan yt ys ioynd wyth good woꝝ-
kys/ all the meryt cometh of our fayth
onely/ and no part thereof foz our woꝝ-

kys. So that god gyueth vs heueth foz
our fayth onely/ and nothyng foz our
woꝝkys. Foz though he gyue it not foz
our faythe yf we lacke good woꝝkys/
yet yf we haue both/ he regardeth not
in hys rewarde our woꝝkys eny thyng
but onely our fayth. And he sayde that
foz thys cause they say that only fayth
caueth our saluacyon.

To thys yt was answered that yf
thys oppynion were true/ yet yt well ap-
pered that thys ys not the thyng that
they mene. Foz the woꝝdys of Luther
and Bomerane and all the archetery-
ques of that secte be very playne. Foz
they saye yf yt ys sacrilege to go about
to please god by eny good woꝝkys but
fayth onely. And than why shold good
woꝝk be ioynd to fayth/ oz why shold
god exacte good woꝝkys of vs/ wherof
shold they seue/ yf they be nothyng ple-
saunt to god. And whan Luther sayth
that nothyng can dampne eny crysten
man but onely lacke of byleue/ he shew-
eth manifestly that we not onely
nede no good woꝝkys wyth our fayth/
but also that so we haue faythe/ none
euill woꝝkys can hurte vs. And so he
meaneth playnely that fayth onely is
out eny good woꝝkys ioynd thereto/
and also wyth all kynd of euill woꝝ-
kys ioynd thereto/ ys suffycient to saue
vs. And therfore yf ye be of hys secte
(was yt sayde to the man) ye can not
auoyde but that thys ys your very doc-
tryne how so euer ye colour yt.

Than was yt fether asked hym yf
theyr meanyng shold be such as he had
sayd/ what sholde moue hym and other
his felowes so to thynke/ that in fayth
and good woꝝkys ioynd together/ the
good woꝝkys were nothyng worthe/
but that all the meryte shold be in the
fayth

fayth / and all the thanke and reward
shold be gyuen to the fayth / and ryght
nought to the good workys.

Coberunto he answered that many
textys of scrypture enduced theym ther
vnto / a speccyal textys of saynt Doule /
fides iustificat / fayth iustifyeth. And
Credidit Abraam deo / et reputatū est
ei ad iusticiam / Abraam byleued god /
a yt was accompted in hym for iustyce.
Si ex operibus / habet quidem gloriā
sed non apud deum / yf he were iusty
fied by the workys / thā had he glory /
but not w god. Si ex operibus / Cris
pro nobis gratis mortuus est. If we be
iustified by work / thā dyd Cris dye
for vs for naught. Grat^r redēpti estis /
ye be redeemed frely. And therby maye
we se that oure workys were parte of
the cause. And yet speccally these wor
dys of our sauour Cris he sayd mych
moued them to be of that mynd / wher
he sayth Qui crediderit et baptisatus
fuerit saluus erit / He that byleueth a
ys baptysed shall be saued. where Cris
requyryth nothyng but only fayth.

By all these textys he sayd y playnly
appered that all our saluacyon cam of
faythe / as Abraam was iustified by
fayth and not by his work. And that
yf our good workys shold be the cause
of our saluacyon / than as saynt Doule
sayth Cris dyed for nought. For he ne
ded not to dye for vs / yf our owne wor
kys myght saue vs. For we were not
redeemed frely / yf we shold redeme our
selfe wyth the payement of oure owne
workys.

To this was yt answered that those
textys and all other alledged for that
purpose / sygnifye none other but that
after the faythe of Cris brought in to
the world by the incarnacyon a passyō

of our blessyd sauour / men are no len
ged boundē to the obseruaunce of Moy
ses law. For that all the law of Moy
ses / nor all the good workys of man /
were not able to saue one man of them
selfe / nor wythout fayth / and y Cris
frely redeemed vs. For neyther had he
or euer shall haue eny reward of vs for
the bytter paynes taken in hys blessed
passyon for vs. For neuer deserued we
vnto hym that he sholde so mych do for
vs. For the fyrste faythe / nor the pre
chyng therof / nor the fyrst iustifyca
cyon of man therby / nor the sacrament
and fruyte of our baptysme / was not
gyuen to the world for eny good wor
kys that euer the world had wrought /
but only of goddys mere lybetal good
nes. But yet there ys neuer a terte of
them nor eny other in all scrypture so
mēt / that after the baptysme the fayth
onely shall saue vs wythout good wor
kys / yf we lyue and haue reason to do
thē. For though it be sayd by the mouth
of our sauour / he that byleueth shall
be saued / where he nothyng speketh of
eny good work / yet meaneth he not
that he that byleueth shall be saued /
wythout good workys yf he lyue to do
theym. For ellys why sholde ye not as
well say that men shall be saued for ke
pyng of the commaundementys wyth
out fayth / lyth Cris sayth yf y wylte
entred in to the kyngdome of heuē ke
pe the commaundementys. And sayth
also / do that and thou shalt haue lyfe.
At whyche tyme he spake no worde of
eny fayth. He sayth also in holy scryp
ture / Date elemosinā et omnia mūda
sunt vobis / Gyue almyse / and all ys
cleine in you. whyche wordys yf men
sholde as largely conster for the pre
empnence of almyse dede / as ye that
are

The fourth booke.

are of Luthers secte consist the textys that speke of fayth/they myght take a false glose and colour to say/that with out fayth or penaunce eyther/or eny other vertue/almoysse dede alone suffyseth for saluacion/how wretchedly so euer we lede our lyfe bysyde. But yf we sholde so sape of almoysse dede/we shold say wrong/as ye do whan ye say so of fayth. For lyke wyle as yt ys vnderstand that fayth must nedys go w good woorkys yf they shall be scutfull/though yt be not spoke of in those text that speke of good woorkys/so is yt vnderstanden that in theym whych after baptysme haue tyme & reason to worke well/good woorkys must walke wyth fayth and serow at harte for fawte of good woorkys/yf the fayth shall aught awayle them. For yf both good woork and fynall repentaunce of the lacke of good woork do fayle vs/haupng tyme and reason to them/we be lyke to face myche the woorse for our fayth. And y thus ys thus/we maye well know by the textys of holy scrypture yf we set theym together/and take not one text for our part and set a nother at nought.

¶ To this answered he that albe yf these textys set together/do proue that fayth alone doth not suffyse wythoute good woorkys (whyche thyng he sayde that hym selfe denyed not) yet he sayd y none of those textys proue eny thyng the contrary/but that whan fayth and good woorkys be ioyned together/all y mercyte cometh yet of our fayth onely and nothyng of our woorkys.

¶ Wherunto he was answered that though it so were in dede that no text of scrypture proued the contrary/ yet syth there ys none that sayth so/and y hole chrysch sayth and byleueth the co-

trary/what reason haue ye to say so/ & to grue the hole mercyte vnto fayth/ & no parte of the rewarde to good woorkys. And now haue ye myche lesse reason so to do/whan the playne woordys of holy wyrt be openly to the contrary. For dyd not god saie to Cain/ yf thou do well thou shalt haue well. Sayth not Cryst of theym that dothe almoysse/A good measure shaken together/heped and cunnynge ouer/shall they grue in to your bolome. Doth not our lord shewe that in the day of iudgement he wyl grue the kyngdom of heuen to theym that haue done almoysse/in mete/drynke/clothe/and lodgyng/bycause of theyr charyte bled in those dedys. whyche dedys though he wyl not rewarde wyth heuen excepte fayth went w the/pet yf they were wought in fayth/he promyseth to rewarde those woorkys and not theyr fayth only/and that so ferforth that yt appereth by the woordys of our sauioure in the same placys/and by hys woordys whyche he sayd he wold in the daye of iudgement speke to the that had by fayth wought wonders in hys name wythout good woorkys and cheryte/whome he wolde thā bydde/walke woorkers of wyckednesse/and tell theym that he knoweth theym not. By these thyngys I saie y well appereth/that be a māns fayth neuer so great/yet yf those good woorkys fayle hym/hys fayth shall fayle of heuen.

¶ Than sayd he yet agayne that fayth can neuer be wythoute good woorkys. But and yf a mā haue fayth/his fayth shal not fayle nor cease to byng forth the fruyte of good woorkys/as the tre byngeth forth hys leuys.

¶ Than was yf answered hym y he was

was dreue from that poynce byfore / as well by chauntyte of saynt Howle as of saynt Jamys. And also that he wyll well that sayth or bpleue ys not contrary to euery synne / but only to in- sydelyte and lacke of blyf / so that w other synnys yt maye stande. Chan sayd he that yf men bpleued surely / he thought they wold not syn. For who wold synne sayd he yf he bpleued betyly and surely that synne sholde bynge hym to hell. Wherunto yt was answere / who so bpleued after your Lutherane sayth / sholde neuer let to synne / yth Lutheranis bpleue that no synne comide dampne them but onely lacke of bpleue / and that no good worke nedeth / but y they shal be saued how so euer they lyue for they onely sayth. wherby yt well appereth that ye lutheranis haue but half a sayth. For ye bpleue god onely in hys pomysses / and in hys thertys ye bpleue hym not at all. How be yt yf one bpleued in dede surely as ye wolde now seme to bpleue / trowth ys yt that yt wolde let many a man from synne / but yet not eury ma. For all be yt that many men there be eyther the more bolde in synne or the more necligence in good betues / by cause they sayth ys very faynt and feble / whyche wold yf they had a sure and an vndoubted sayth be in suche drede of god and loue also / that yt wolde wythdrawe them from synne and sette them in the waye of betue / yet many men be there on the tother syde that were theyre sayth neuer so stronge / yet sholde yt mayster the frowardnes of theyre malycouse appetys. And thys wolde happen sometime and dayly dothe / in menne not depely drowned in malice / nor

folke out of the sayth neyther / which yet fall in to the herche of goddys commaundement by the subtyll suggestys of the deuyll / or by the scapetye of theyre owne fleshe. wherof yt semeth that the holy appostle was hym selfe so sore afraid for all hys sayth / that he thys prayed god to take the temptacon away. I can not se but y Adam bpleued the wordys of god / and yet he brake hys commaundement. And I thynke that kynge Dauid fell not fro hys sayth though he fell fyrst in aduourtyse in man slaughter. And some examples haue we sene of them that haue sought the reuengynge of theyre owne malycous myndes / by suche wayes as they sawe whan they went about yt theyre own vndoubted deth by fore theyre eyf. And therfore yt ys but a tale to say that sayth draweth alway good workys with yt / y ye Lutherans in that ye saye that sayth ys sufficient alone wythout good workys / shold say so / by cause yt bygeth alway good workys with yt. For thys were a very bryn doctryne / that sayth ys alone sufficient to saue them that haue the vse of reason wythout good workys / yf in such as haue the vse of reason sayth be neuer wythout good workys.

¶ After suche obieccyons / than fell he to another poynce / and sayd that yf our good workys and sayth be ioyned / yet myghte yt well appere by scripture that all the metyte was in our sayth / and nothyng in manny workys. For all the workys of man he sayd be sturke nought / as thyngys all spotted wyth syn. And for that he layd dyuers text of scripture. But specially as the moste playne pofe / the wordys of the prophete / *Omnis iusticia nostra velut pannus*

The fourth booke.

sanctus merita. And sayth that all our workes be sayd be spotted & synfull & whiche how good soever they seme: yet must nedys folowe that all the merite cometh of our sayth. ¶ And thus was answered hym. ¶ Now by this ye have somewhat opened your selfe private and declared your opinion in this matter to be far other than ye sayd before. For in all the glosses that ye have vled before / ye have alwaye sayde that ye and all the secte of Luther as farre as ye knewe and thought / beleued that sayth coulde not saue vs if we had reason / without good workes. But ye sayde that sayth was ynough alone / because it brought of necessity good workes with ye. And yett all ymerite & reward due to sayth onlye / and not to the good workes that ye bringeth forth. And now ye say that there be no good workes at all but al our workes be sharke nought. Nowe if ye thynke that there be no good workes / howe can ye saye as ye sayd before / that ye thynke that sayth alwaye bringeth forth good workes. Wherouer the wordes of the prophet / thoughte ye be generally spoken maye be well vnderstande to be verifed in far y most parte of mankynd though not of all or of y iustyce of mā / if ye were compared with the souerayne iustyce of god. Or that iustyce of ryght good mā ys yett soe spotted with syn / for y the frailtye of our nature seldom constantly stādeth eny whyle together i good workes / but y plevensite is interruped / often spotted & bysprent w synne. And therof ys ye sayd / Sepries in die cadit vltus et resurget. Seven tymes in the day fallerth the ryghtuous mā / and ryseth agayne. It may be also vnderstande

of all the ryghtuousnesse of a man alone wrought of hym self / and bys pure naturall powers without anyde and helpe of specyall grace. For surely all furthe iustyce of ourys as ynely ourys / ys all spotted and in effect all one fowle spot / for eny betwixt y ye hath in y glayous eye of god. But surely the holy prophete neuer ment as Luther & his felows wold have seme / y y grace of god ys in all his peple so feble of yt self / & of so lytell force and effecte / that no man may worth the helpe therof be able to do one good vertuous dede. For Luther sayth playnly y no mā though he haue y helpe of gods grace therto / ys able to kepe & obserue y commaundemēts of god / whych blasphemous wordes seme to signifye y bothe saynt Iohn the baptiste & our blessed lady also were synners / & ouer al this y god were not able by anyde and helpe of his grace to make a man kepe his commaundemēts / and kepe hym out of syn though he woulde. ¶ All the old fathers y wrote agaynst Pelagyan / whych helde oppynion that man ys of nature or at the leste wyle with the generall influence of grace / able and iustycient to do good & merytous workes without helpe of eny specyall grace toward euery good dede yt selfe / myslyked and condemned his doctryne / for that yt mynyshed the necessity of māys recourse vnto god / for calling help of his grace. But ye y hold all mān dede for vterly nought though grace wrought w the / be double & treble more enemyes to grace than they. For wher they sayd we myght do good somtyme without ye / ye say we can at no tyme do no good w it. And this were grace by your tale a very boode thyng.

was

was than all the labour and the payne that chappostles toke inprechyng all naught & synfull. all the tormentys þe martyrs suffered in theyr passyon all together synne. all þe dedys of charyte that Crist shall as hym self sayth reward wryth euerlastyng lye at the generall iudgement be they syn all together. Saynt Doule rekened it other wyse. For he sayd boldely of hym self. *bonū certamen certavi. cursū consummaui. et nūc superest michi corona iustitie.* I haue laboured & stryuen a good stryfe. I haue perfourmed my course. now lacketh me no more for me but þe crowne of iustye.

¶ Therunto he answered that saynt Doule wolde not saye that our dedys worre suffycent of theym self. but that all oure suffyencye ys of god. wherunto yt was answered that this was lytell to the mater. For no more ys our sayth suffycent of yt selfe. but the suffyencye therof ys also of god. in that our lord wryth out endeuour gyueth vs grace to blyue. and in that yt lyketh our lord of hys goodnes so hyghly to reward yt. For surely as it is very true that saynt Doule sayth that. *Non sūt condigne passionēs huius vite ad futuram gloriā que reuelabitur in nobis.* all that euer we can suffer in this worlde. ys not worthy the glory to com. that shall be shewed in vs. (For what thyng could a self wretched creature do or suffer for god in the hese tyme of this short lyfe. þe might of ryght requyre to be rewarded euerlastyngly. wryth suche inestimable ioy as neyther eye hath seen nor tonge can expresse. nor hart can ymagyne or conceyue) so ys yt also as true that all the sayth we haue or cā haue can of hys own nature

as lytel or myche lesse deserue heuē as our other good ded. For what grete thyng do we to god. or what grete thyng coulde we aske hym of ryght. bycause we blyue hi. as though he were mych beholde vnto vs. in þe we vouchelaufe to truste hym. as though hys woorthynge in our handys. and hys estymacyon lost yt he were out of credence w. vs. And therfore amonge many folyshe wordys of Luther. as folyshe as euer heretique spake. he neuer spake a more frantrique. thā in that he sayth. þe god hath nede of our sayth. For he sayth that god hath no nede of our good woorthys. but he hath nede of our sayth. and hath nede that we sholde blyue hym. ¶ Trowthe ys yt that he nede. he neyther our sayth nor oure woorthys. But lyth that he hath determyned that he wyl not saue vs wrythoute both yt we be of dyscrecyon to haue both. therfore haue we nede of bothe. And yet neyther is there the tone nor the totier nor they both together bytwene them. that be of theyre owne nature woorth the reward of heuē. But as we les þe one ounce of gold wherof. x. pounde weyghte were not of hys owne nature toward mā woorth one ounce of whete. nor one hundred pounde weyght ther of of the nature selfe woorth the one self shepe. ys yet among men by a pryce appointed and agreed woorth many hole shepe. and many a pounde weyght of brede. so hath yt lyked þe lyberall goodnes of god to set as well our sayth as oure dedys. wherby were ellys bothe twayn of theyre owne nature ryght lytell i value at so hygh a pryce. as none ys able to bye theym and paye for the but hym self. bycause we shold woorth the only to hym. and haue none other

page

The fourth booke.

pay mayster noz nothe other chapmā to sell our ware and our worke vnto/ but only hym. Except we wolde be so mad & towardys hym so vnkynd y we wold sell yt to a nother for lesse/ rather than to hym for more. As some do/ that had leuer trauayle far of and sell for lesse/ than they wold for more sell to theyre neyghbours at home. And as do these folysch pproctyt/ which rather thā they wold sell theyr worke to god for euerlastyng ioy of heuen/ sell yt all to the world for the peupsh plesure of y bayn prayse puffed out of poze mortall menys mouthes wyth a blast of wynde.

¶ Vnto thys he sayd that very true yt was y all our workys toke theyre value & pryce after thacceptacyō of god/ & as he lyst to allowe them. But he sayd that god reiected/ dysallowed/ and set at nought all the workys of infydels wrought wythout fayth. For sūe fide impossibile est placere deo/ wout fayth yt is ipossyble to please god. So of his faythfull cholen peple that byleue and trust in hym/ he accepteth & alloweth all the dedys. And that is sayd he/ wel proued by the wordys of saynt Iohn/ Nichil dānationis est hiis qui sunt in Christo iesu. And albe yt that in the rehercyng of the cōmūnycacō had wyth thys man/ yt may well be y myrrembraunce maye partely mysse the order/ partely peradventure adde oz mynysh in some parte of the mater/ yet in thys poynt I assure you faythfully/ there ys no maner chaūg oz varyaūce from his oppnyon/ but that after many shyftys he brought yt playnly to thys poynt at last/ that he and his felows that were of Luthers secte/ were fermely of this oppnyon/ that they byleued that god worketh all in enery mā good workys

and badde. Howe be yt as luche as he forsknoweth to be dāpned/ no maner workys be profytable to them. For god taketh theym for nought be they neuer so good. But on the tother syde in those he hath chosē fro y begynnig & predestynate to glozy/ all workes be good ynogh for god accepteth and taketh thē well a worth be they neuer so bad.

¶ It was asked hym than whyther y the forsakynge of Crist by Peter was allowed and well approued by Criste. And whyther y aduourty & māslaughter was by god wel allowed in Dauid.

¶ Wherunto he sayd that bycause they were chosē and predestynate/ therfore those synnys were not/ noz the synnys of eny luche men be not imputed vnto theym. But god bycause he hath frome the begynnynge cholen theym to euerlastyng blyss/ therfore he accepteth no blame of theyr dedys vnto theym/ but all the workys of a iuste man that ys to saye quod he of a person by god predestynate to glozy/ turne hym to good/ howe euill so euer they be. And thys for cōclusyon he declared to be theyr very playn mynde and oppnyon/ for all the clockys that he set vppon the mater by/ for/ to make yt seme that they mēned in theyr word/ none harme. And there yt clerely appered/ that he and hys felows which in theyr prechyng do couertly & craftely secte oute the dampnable secte of Luther/ hoope and gape alway for some other tyme/ in wyrch they truste openly & boldely to play the raueno^s woullys & deuoure the shepe & marre y hole flock. And i y mene leasō be cōtēt to play y wylly for & wyrry siple soul & poze lābes/ as thei may catch thē stragelig fro y fold/ oz rather lyke a falshe shepheard/ dog y wold but bakke i syght/ & seme to

to fetch in y shepe / & yet kyll a lambe
in a cozner. Men speke of som that bere
two faces in one hode. I neuer saw eny
y moze berly play y pagaute / than do
thys kynde of suche pzecheours. For in
pzechyng to the peple they make a by-
sage as though they came straght fro
heuen to teche them a new better way
& moze trew than the chyche techeth /
oz hath taught this many hundred yere.
And then to y chyche in examynacyon
they shew the selfe as poze me of mydle
erth / & as though they taught none o-
ther wyse tha y chyche doth. But in co-
clusyō whē they be well examyned / &
w mych worke that falschode of theyz
cloked collusyō ys pulled of / the appe-
reth there all y malycious trechery / &
what popson they put forth vnder the
cloke of hony. As thys mā y I tell you
of laborynge all y he myghte by many
meanes to make yt seme / that in pze-
chyng y faith alon was sufficiēt for our
saluacyō / & y good work were nothig
worth / had nothig entended but well
& accordyng to y doctryne of y chyche /
& y he & hys felowes neuer ment other
wyse tha y chyche meneth / yet in cōclu-
syō he playnly shewed hym selfe / y he &
hys felows entend therby to bryng y
peple to thys poynt at last / y all chyng
handgeth onely vppon desteny / & that
the lybertye of mānys wyll shold setue
of ryght nought / nor mēnys ded good
oz bad made no dyfference afoze god /
but that in hys chosen people nothynge
myslyketh hym be yt neuer so bad / and
in the tother sort nothynge pleseth hym
be yt neuer so good / the very worst and
mooste myscheuouse heresye y euer was
thoughte vppon / and therto the moost
madde. For as yt ys sayde vnto hym /
yt this were trew / wherto pzeche they

at all / and counsaile eny man ony
thyng oz other. What scrupte coulde
come of theyze exhortacyon yt all shold
hange vppon desteny. There were
shewed vnto hym many thyngys for
the repzoze of that vntreasonable and
detestable heresye / and that the tetrys
whyche he alledged / nothynge made
for hys purpose. For as for that he al-
ledged of saynt Dowle / that there ys
no dampnacyon to theym that be in
Criste Jesu / was ment of good sayth-
full folke that lyue vertuouesly / and
therefoze where he sayth that there ys
no dampnacyon to theym that be in
Criste Jesu / yt foloweth forthwith
in the terte / those that walke not after
the flesho. Denyng playnly y there is
no mā so plated in Criste Jesu / but y yf
he folow y fleshy ways of hys sensuall
appetytes / he shalbe dāpned for all his
sayth in Crist. For ellis it shold folow
vpo this false opiniō / if god accept wel
all the workys of them that are pre-
destynate / than is synne no synne. But
in y tother sort / whō god hath not pre-
destynate. And than ys yt as myche to
say as no mā may lawfully be nought
no man lawfully do thefte oz aduou-
tery / nor lawfully be a manquellour /
nor lawfully forswere hym selfe but
goddys good sonnyes and hys specyall
chosen chyldren.

¶ Now where he alledged the wor-
dys of saynt Dowle / q iuste omnia co-
operantur in bonū / To a iuste man all
thyngys worke together to hys wele /
yt was sayde that yt ment that all the
cuples that men dyd vnto theym / tur-
ne them to good & be to good mē occa-
sion of theyz merite / as was to Job all
y tozmeys by whych y deuyll assauted
hys pacyence / and all the paynys that

Dagan

The fourth booke.

Pagan tyrantys dyd vnto the holy martyrs. And somtyme þ syn in whych a good man ys by goddys sufferance pmytted to fall / ys an occasyon to hym of a gretter good / or of thauoydyng of a gretter syn. As theschewynge of an hyghe spyrytuall pryde / in to whyche peradventure the contynuall curse of hys vertuous lyfe might by the deuyls subtyll suggestyon haue brought hym / where as one foule act of lechery hath shewed hym his frapletre / and in stede of pryde broughte hym in to penaunce and humylyte / and make hym turne the faster forwarde in vertue / bycause he hath letted and syt styll a while in syn / and therfore wyl he turne forthe to wyne agayne in hys waye that he byfore caste hym selfe behynde. But yt was not ment that euer they synners so turned the to good / that they were accepted the more and rewarded the better for they euill dedys. For god remytteth not the synners of his chosen people / nor forbereth not to impute the blame theto vnto them / bycause they be hys chosen people. For he accepteth not folk for they persons but for they merytys / but where as they haue synned / he punyssheth as wel theym as othet / and somtyme more bycause they forimate good lyuyng somwhat of congruence deserued that they shold by punysshment be called agayne to grace / and not be for they favoure so sone cast cleue away / as some othet obdurate in malysie and euill custome of synne / deserue to haue þ grace of god & hys calyng on neuer more offered vnto them / and vnto som yt ys offered that wyl not receyue yt. God called on Dauid by þ prophete Nathan / and yet punysshed hys offere. Cryst looked on Peter after

he had forsaken and forsworne hym / and Peter therwith toke repetaunce. God looked on Judas & kyssed hym to / and he turned to none amendement. Now god fro the begynnyng before þ worlde was created / foreseynge in hys dyuyns p'science or rather in þ thetynge of his godhed presently byholdyng / that Peter wold repent & Judas wold dyspayre / and that the tone wold take hold of hys grace / the tother wolde reiecte yt / accepted and chose the tone & not the tother / as he wolde haue made the contrary choyce / yf he had forsene in them the contrary chaunge.

The .xii. chappter.

The authoz inueheth agaynst the most pestylent secte of these Luthetans / whych ascrybe our saluacion and danacyon and all our dedys to desteny.

But now for to say as that here byque sayd after all hys wyfrys at last that all that shall be saued shall be saued only bycause that god frome þ begynnyng hath chosen theym / & bycause of that choyce all they dedys be good / or yf they be euill yet god for cause of hys eternall choyce taketh the well in wurth and imputeth no blame vnto theym / and that all other people tohom god hath created shall be dampned onely bycause he wolde not chose them / and that all they dedys eyther be nought or not wel accepted / bycause god lyt not in the begynnyng to chose theym / and that he worketh both in þ tone forte & in the tother all they dedos hym selfe alone / and they do nothyng therein theym selfe / and so that god whose goodnes is iestymable doth dampne so houghe a number of people to intollerable and intermynable tozmentys only

rys only for hys pleasure and for hys owne dedys wrought in theym onely by hym selfe / this false oppynion is as the kyngeys hyghnes moste vertuously wyrteth in hys epistle to Luther / the most abomynable heresye þeuer was. And surely it is so far agaynst all holy scripture well vnderstanden / so farre agaynst all naturall reason / so bitterly subuerting all vertue and all good order in the world / so hyghly blaspheming the goodnes and maieste of almyghty god in heuen / that yt is moze than wonder how eny man earthely that hath ether one sparke of wyrt in hys hed / or toward god or man one droppe of good wyll in his harte / shold not abhorre to here yt. For this execrable heresye maketh god the cause of all euyl / and such cruell appetyte as neuer trespauente and tormentour had / ascribethe to the benygne nature of almyghty god. For where as our saupour Crist toke vppon hym self all our syn / and of hys endles payne bare the payne of theym for our sake / this dampnable heresye holdeth / that god shold be fyrst so vntrew that he sholde laye vnto vs the wyght and blame of hys owne sawtyrs / that ys to wyrt the euyl workys whiche as they say be not wrought by vs but in vs by god / and therunto they make hym so dyspytuous & cruell / that for hys owne dede so done he shold haue a perpetual delyte & plesure to tormēt vs. Now turne they þe trespacle of holy scripture quyte in to poplō. For this false errour onys takē for treuth / wherof sholde all scripture serue / wherof shold serue þe exhortacyōs to good workis yf men neyther eny do / nor eny can do / neyther of the self nor wyth helpe of grace / or yf eny be done by them whiche be not chosen /

they dedys be not accepted of god / by cause he hath not chole they persons / wherof shall serue the ptechyngys and exhortacyōs to the fayth / yf the herets haue no lybertye of theyre owne wyll / by which they may together with goddys grace laboure to submytte and subdue the rebellyon of theyre reason to the obedience of fayth and credence of the worde of god / wherof shall serue all þe dehortacyōs and cōmynacyōs and thertys in scripture / by which god calleth men fro synne and euyl workys / yf the world were onys of mynde that they byleued after Luther / that no mā doth eny euyl dede hym selfe / but god doth theym all hym selfe. And that euery man ys eyther chosen or vnchosen. And yf we be of the chosen sorte / none euyl dede can dampne vs. And yf we be of the vnchosen sorte / no good dede can auayle vs. He that thus byleueth / what careth he what he doth / excepte for the fere of temporall lawys of this worlde. And yet yf hys false faythe be strong / he forceth lytell of theym also. For he shall thynke dyenge in hys bed or on the galows / cometh not after his deservyng but hangerhall vppon destinye. And therfore all lawys they set at nought. And they hold that no man ys bounden to obaye eny / but wold be at lybertye to byleue what they lyst / and do what they lyst / as they say that god doth with vs not what we deserue but what hym selfe lyst.

Wherof shall reason serue yf mā had no power of hym selfe toward the dyscrecyon of hys owne workys / but that all our workys were brought forth of vs wythout oure wyll / wozle than the workys be in dede out of a brute best / by the appetyte of his sensuall moxyō /

The fourth boke.

For oures sholde be by thys oppnyon brought forth/as the leues come out of y tre/or as a stone falleth downward/ and the smoke wywarde by the power of nature/so sholde I say all our dedys good or bad ascende or descende by the vyolent hand of god magre out myn- dys and thus y bestys be not ashamed to say/whā they pzeue howzly by theyz owne experyence in theym selfe/ that whan they wyll do a thyng they do yt. And whan they lyst they lue yt. I say not by theym selfe alone wythout god. But hys assystence ys alway at hand/ yf we be wyll yng to worke therworth/ As the lyght is pzeent with y sonne/ yf we lyst not wyllfully to set out eyen and wyneke.

¶ Wherof shold serue all lawys. And where were bycome all good order among men/yf euery mysordered wretche myghte alledge that hys myscheuous dede was he destyny.

¶ Yf fre wyll serue for nought/ & euery mannyys dede ys hys desteny/ why do these men complayn upon eny mā. Except they wyll say they do it bycause yt ys theyz desteny to do so. And why wyll they be angry wyth them that punysh heretyques/except they wyll saye bycause yt ys theyze desteny to be so. For yf they wyll hold theym to theyze own secte/and say men do the wzing to burne theym for theyze heresyys bycause yt was theyz desteny to be heretyques/they may be then well answered wyth theyz owne wordys/ as one of theyz sect was serued i a good town in Almayne whych when he had robbed a man and was brought byfore y iudges he coude not denye the dede/ but he sayd yt was hys desteny to do yt and therfore they myghte not blame

hi/they answered hym after hys own doctryne that yf yt were hys destenye to stele/ and that therfore they muste holde hym excused/ than yt was also theyz destenye to hange hym/ and therfore he must as well holde them excused agayne. And vndoubtedly a monge men these takers a waye of fre wyll maye neuer auorde that answer by reason. But than fall the wretches to the desperate wayes of deuyls and dampned sowlys. Chā fall they to callyng and reprouyng the iustye of god & say that hym selfe he wrought theyz euill workys/ and wzingfully punysshed theym/and cruelly created theym to wretchednes. Our mother Eue layd the wyght of her synne to the serpent/ and god was offēded that she toke not her owne parte to her selfe. But these wretches excuse them selfe and y deuyl and all/and lay both theyz own fault and the deuyls to/ to the blame of almighty god. But ythe what so they say/ they lytell care in dede of hell or of heuen/ but wold in thys world lyue in leud lybertye/and haue all runne to ryot. And lyth theyse that they can not so be suffred/ nor theyze secte allowed in iudgement/ they deuyle by all the wayes they can to gete so many to fall in to theyz sozte/ that they may be able to turne the worlde bp so downe/ and defende theyz folp and false heresye by force. And thys they call the lybertye of the gospel/ to be dyscharged of all order & of al lawys/and do what they lyst/whych be yt good/ be it bad/ys as they saye nothyng but the workys of god wrought in theym. But they hope y by thys mene god shall for the whyle worke in theym many mery pastymes. wherin yf theyze heresye were onys receyued

receyued / & the world chaūged thereby / they shold fynd theym selfe soze deceyued. For the lawys and orders among men wyth fere of punysshment onys taken away / there were no man so strong y could kepe his pleasure longe / but that he shold fynde a stronger take yt from hym. But after y yt were onys come to that point / and y world onys ruffled and fallen in a wyldenes / how long wold yt be / & what heppys of heuy myschyffys wold there fall / ere y way were founden to set the world in orde and peace agayne.

The. xii. chapter.

The author sheweth his opinion concernyng the butnyng of heretyques / and y yt is lawfull / necessary / and well done / and sheweth also y the clergye doth not procure yt / but onely y good and polytyque prouy- syon of the temporalte.

The fere of these outtrags and myschyffys to folow vppon such sectys and heresyys / wyth y pprofe that men haue had in some contrees therof / haue ben the cause that prynces & peple haue ben constreynyd to punyssh here- syes by terribyle deth / where as els no reasy ways had ben takē wyth them. And therfore here wyl I summoat (sayd I to your frend) answer y poitis whych ye mouyd at our furst metyng / when ye sayd that many men thought yt an hard and an vncharitable waye taken by the clergye / to put men cōuyt of heresy somtyme to shame / somtyme to deth / and that Cryst so far abhorred all such vyolēce / that he wold not eny of his floke shulde fyght in any wyse / neyther in the defence of them selfe oz eny other / not so mych as in the defence of Cryst hym self for whych he blamyd

saynt Peter / but y we sholde all lyue after hym in sufferance and payens / so ferforth that folke thought as ye sayd / that we shold not fyght in defence of oure selfe agaynst the Turkyss and infydels. These obieccyōs be sone answered. For neyther dothe the clergye therein any such thyng as ys sayd and imputed vnto theym / nor y temporalte neyther. Albe yt wyth good reason they myght / yet had they neuer in dede fallen so soze to force & vyolence agaynst heretyques / yf the vyolent cruelte fyrst vsed by y heretyques the selfe agaynst good catholyke folk & gūen good pric thereto / for preseruacyon not of y fayth onely / but also of the peas amōg theyr peple. For albe yt that forth wyth vpo the deth of Cryst in the begynnyng of the chryche / many sectys and heresyys began (as well appereth by thapoc- allyps of saynt Iohn the euangelyst / and theppistles of thapostle Paule) and af- ter almoste continually dryuers here- syes sprange in dryuers placys (as we playnly se by the story of the chrych by the bokys of saynt Hierom / saynt Au- gustyne / saynt Cuseby / saynt Basyle / saynt Ambrose / saint Gregoꝝ Nazan- zenus / saynt Chrysostome / and many other doctours of the chrych) yet in all this tyme by a longe space of many ye- tys was there neuer other punysshment done vppon theym in effecte / but onely redargucyon and reprouynge by dysp- cyons / eyther in wordys oz wytyng / oz condemnacyons of theyr oppyn- nyons in synodys and counsaills / oz synnully excomunicacions and puttyng out of Crystys flok / sayunge that they were put somtyme to silence vpo payn of forfayture of certayn money. But as I sayd byfore yf the heretyques had neuer

The fourth booke.

neuer by gon with violence/ though
they had used all the wayes they could
to allecete þ people by prechynge/ though
they had therw done as Luther dothe
now/ and as Machomete dyd byfore/
byng by oppnyons pleasaunte to the
peple/ grynng theym lybertye to lewd-
nes/ yet yf they had set bylke asyde/
good crysten people had peraduenture
yet vnto this day/ used lesse violence
toward theym than they do now. And
yet were heresye well worthy to be as
foze as eny other fault/ syth there ys no
lawe that moze offendeth god. Howe
be it whyle they forbare bylke/ there
was ytell bylke done to them. And
surely though god be able agaynst all
persecucyō to plectue and encrease his
fayth amonge the people/ as he dyd in
the begynnyng for all the persecucyon
of the Daynyms and the Jewys/ yet
is yt no reson to loke that crysten pryn-
ces shold suffer the catholyke crysten
peple to be oppressed by Turkyss/ or by
heretiques worse then Turkyss. ¶ By
my soule quod your frende I wold all
the worlde were all agreed to take all
violence and compulsion away vppon
all synners crysten and hethen/ and that
no man were constrained to bylke/ but
as he coude be by grace wysedom and
good wordys enduced/ and then he þ
wold go to god go on a goddys name/
and he that wyl go to the deuill the
deuill go with hym. ¶ Forsooth quod
I and yf yt so were/ yet wold I ytell
dout but þ the good seed byng sowē
amonge þ people/ shold as wel come by
and be as stronge to saue yt selfe as þ
eccle/ and god shold alway be stronger
then the deuill. But yet be heretiques
and hethen men in two dyuerse cases.
For in case the Turkyss Saracenyss

and Daynyms woulde suffer þ fayth of
Cryste to be pefibly preched among the/
and that we crysten mē shold therfore
suffer in lyke wyse all theyre sectys to
be preched amonge vs/ and violence
taken away by assent on both the sy-
des/ I nothyng mistrust that þ fayth
of Cryste shold mych moze encrease thā
decay. And albe yt that we sholde synd
among vs/ that wold for the lewd ly-
bertye of these sectys drawe to the de-
uill/ yet so shold we synde I dout not
amonge theym also many a thousande/
that shold be content to leue that beste-
ly pleasure & come to the fayth of Cryste/
as came in the begynnyng to crysten-
dom oute of the Daynyms/ that ly-
ued as voluptuously as the Turkyss
do now. But syth violence ys used on
that part/ and Crystys fayth not ther
suffered to be preched and taken/ he þ
woulde now suffer that secte to be pre-
ched or taught amonge crysten men and
not punyssh & destroy the doers/ were
a playn enemye to Cryste/ as he þ were
content to suffer Cryste lese his worschip
in many sowlys on this syde/ without
eny one wronge in the other syde. But now
yf violence were
withdrawen on that syde then this
way that ye speke of were peradventure
bytwene crystendom and Turkye or
Daynyss yf the worlde were assented
therunto and could hold yt/ none euyl
waye. For syth we sholde nothyng so
myche regard as the honoure of god/ &
encreacing of the crysten fayth/ a wy-
nyng of mennys soules to heuen/ we
shold seme to dyshonour god yf we mis-
trusted that his fayth preched among
other indifferently without dysurbā-
ce shold not be able to prosper. And by-
leaving that yt were/ we shold bynder
the

the p[ro]p[er]te of we wold refuse the cōdy-
cyon / where there be many mo to be
wonne to Crist on that syde / thā to be
lost from hym on this syde. But yet as
for heretikes cōspyrng among our selfe
spyrng i of our selfe be i no wyse sus-
fected but to be oppressed and overwel-
med in the begynnyng. For by eny co-
tremunt wryth theym / crystendom can
nothyng wyne. For as many as we
suff[er] to fall to them we lese fro Crist.
And by all theym we can not wyne
to cryst one the mo / though we wanne
theym all home agayne / for they wete
our owne byfoze. And yet as I sayde
for all that in the begynnyng / neuer
were they by eny temporal punysshment
of theyre bodys eny thyng shapely
handled / tyll y they began to be vpo-
lent them selfe

¶ We rede that in the tyme of saynte
Austyn the grete doctour of y chyrche /
the heretiques in a cite called the
Donatistes fell to force and violence
robbyng / betyng / turmentyng / and
kyllyng / such as they toke of the crew
crysten flokke / as the Lutherans
haue done in Almayne. For auordyng
wherof that holy man saynt Austyn
whiche long had wryth grete patiens
borne and suffered theyr malice / only
wrytyng and prechyng in the rep[ro]se
of theyr errours / had not onely done
them no temporal harme / but also had
letted and ressted other y woulde haue
done yt. Dyd yet at last for the peate of
good peple both suffer and exhorthe the
the counte Boniface and other / to re-
p[re]sse theym wryth force and fere them
wryth bodily punysshment. whych ma-
ner of doyng holy saynt Hierome and
other vertuous fathers haue in other
places allowed. And spyns that tyme

hath there vpon necessity perceyued
by grete outragys comyted agaynst
the peace and quyet of the peple in son-
der places of crystendome / by heret-
ques cōspyrng of a small begynnyng to
an hygh and vnclyp multitude / ma-
ny soze punysshmentys ben deuysed for
theym a specially by fyze / not only in
Italy & Almayne / but also i Spayn /
and in effecte in euery parte of crysten-
dom. Among whiche in England as a
good catholyque realme yt hath ben
long punysshed by deth in y fyze. And
specially for as myche as in the tyme
of y noble pryncce of moste famous me-
mozy kyng Henry the fyfth whyle the
lorde Cobham maynteyned certayne
heresyces / and that by y meanys thetof
the nomber so grew & encreased / that
wrythin a whyle thoughte hym selfe
was fled in Wales yet they assembled
theym selfe together in a feld nere vnto
London in such wyse and such no-
ber y the kyng wryth his nobles wete
sayne to put harness on theyre backes
for the rep[re]ssion of theym / wherby
they were distressed and many put to
executyō / and after that the lorde Cob-
ham tākē in Wales & burned in Lon-
don / the kyng his nobles & his peple
theruppon consyderyng the great pa-
rell and leopardy that the realme was
lyke to haue fallē in by those heresyces /
made at a parlement very good a sub-
stauncyall prouysions bys yde all suche
as wete made byfoze / as well for the
wrythstandyng as the rep[re]ssyng and
griuous punysshment of eny luche as
shold be founden sawtye thetof / and
by the clergye leste vnto the seculare
handys.

¶ For here ye shall vnderstande that
yt ys not the clergye that labouryth to
haue

The fourth booke.

haue them punished by deth. well may
yt be that as we be all menne and not
angellys/ som of them may haue some
tyme eyther ouer feruent mynd oz
bndyscrete zeale/ oz petras an angry and a
cruell harte/ by whych they may offend
god in þ selfe same dede/ wherof they
shold ellys gretely meryt. But surely þ
orde of the spyrytuall law therin is
both good/ reasonable/ prynciple/ a cha-
ritable/ and nothyng despyng þ deth
of eny man therin. For at þ fyrst sawte
he ys abused/ forwereth all heresies/
doth suche renaunce for his sawte as þ
bysshoppe assigneth him. And ys in such
wyse graciously receyued agayne in to
the fauour & suffragis of Crist chych.
But a yf he be take of felonys wryth the
same crime agayne/ than ys he put out
of þ chychen flocke by excomunicaciō.
And by cause that being such/ his con-
uersacion were perycle among chych-
men/ the chych refuseth hym/ and
therof the clergy geueth knowledge to
the tēporal tye/ not exhortyng þ pynce
oz eny man ellys eyther to kyll hym oz
punyshe hym/ but onely in the ptesence
of the tēporal offycer/ þ spyrytuall tye
not deliuereth hym but leueth hym to
the secular hand/ and forsaketh hym as
one excomunicate and remoued out of
the chychen flocke. And though þ chych
be not lyght and sodayne in receyving
hym agayne/ yet at þ tyme of his deth
vpon his request is tokens of repen-
tance/ he is absolued & receyued agayne.

The .xiiij. chapyter.

The authoz sheweth that
the clergy doth no wrong in leuyng
heretiques to secular hand/ though
they deth folowe theron. And he
sheweth also that yt ys lawfull to
resyste the turke and suche other in-

sydels/ and that pynters be bound
dethereto.

May quod your frend but as me
thynereth the byshoppe doth as
much as though he kyled hym/ whan
he leueth hym to þ secular hand in such
tyme & place/ as he woteth wel he shal
sone be burned.

I will not here enter in to the que-
styon quod I whycher a ptesle myght
for eny cause/ and yf for eny/ whycher
than for heresye wythout blame of ye-
regularyte put oz comaunde eny man
to deth/ eyther by expresse wordys oz
vnder the generall name of rygth and
iustyce. In whych mater I coude not
lack bothe reason authoryte and exem-
ple of holy men. But in this mater that
we haue in hand/ yt ys sufficient that
the byshop neyther dothe yt nor com-
maundeth yt. For I thynke there will
no reason bere yt/ that whan the here-
tyque yf he went abrode wold wryth þ
spredynge of hys erreure infecte other
folk/ the byshop shold haue such pte
vpon hym/ that he shold rather than
other men shold punyshe hys body/ suf-
fer hym to kyll other mennys scowls.

In dede quod I there be some as re-
say that eyther of hyghpretended pte
oz of a fayned obseruance of the coun-
sayls of Crist/ wold that no man shold
punyshe eny heretique oz infydele ey-
ther/ not though they inuaded ys and
dedyd ys all þ harme they possyble could.
And in this oppynyon ys Luther and
hys folowers/ whych amonge they
other heresysh holde for a playn conclu-
sion/ þ yt ys not lyesfull to eny crysten
man to fyght agaynst the Turke/ oz to
make agaynst hym eny resystēce/ though
he come in to crystendome wryth a great
army & labour to destroy all. For the

say that all crysten men are bounden to the couisayles of Crist/ by whiche they say that we be forboden to defende out self/ and that saynt peter was as ye rehearsed reprovied of our sauour whā he strake of Malchus ere/ albe it y he dyd yt in the defence of hys own mayster/ and the moost innocent man that euer was. And vnto this they lay as ye sayd in y begynnynge/ that syth the tyme y crysten men first fell to fyrhtynge/ yt hath neuer encreaced but alwaye mynyshed and decayed. So that at this day the Turke hath estayted vs very nere/ & brought yt in wythin a ryght narrow compare/ & narrower shall do say they/ as longe as we go aboute to defend crystendō by the sworde. whych they say sholde be as yt was in the begynnynge encreaced/ so be contynued and preserued only by pacyence & martyrdom. Thus holyp speke these godly fathers of Luthers secte/ labourynge to procure y no man sholde wythstand y Turke/ but let hym wyne all. And whā yt shold come to y/ thā wold they as yt seeme wyne all agayn by theyr pacyence/ hygh vertues/ and martyrdom/ by whiche now they can not suffer to resiste theyr bestely voluptuousnesse/ but bryke theyr bowes/ & take the harttys vnder the name of wyrys. And where they may not fyght agaynst the Turke/ aryle by great plāp to fyght agaynst theyr euē crystē. It ys I trow no grete maystry to perceyue whō they labour to please y haue y oppniō. And yf y Turke happē to come in/ yt is lytel dout whole part they wyll take/ and y crysten people be lyke to fynde none so cruel Turkys as them. It ys a gentyl holynes to abstayn for deuocō to resistynge y Turke/ & in y mean whyle to

crise by in rowtyng & fyrht agayst er. Al me/ & destroy as y sect hath done many a good relygious house/ spoyled/ meymhed/ & slayne many a good vertuous mā/ robbed/ polluted/ & pulled downe many a goodly chyrch of Crist.

¶ And now wher they lay for a profe/ y god were not cōtēted w̄ batayl made agayst infydel/ y losse & mynyshmet of crystendō synnē y guyle bygā/ they face as dyd onys an olde sage father sole in Kent at such tyme as dyuers mē of woꝝ shyp assēbled old folk of y cūtre to comune & deuyle about the amēdemēt of Sādmych hauē. At which tyme as they bygā first to eserche by rēasō & by y report of old mē there about/ what thing had bē thocca hō y so good an hauē was in so few yerys so soze decayed/ & suche sande crysen/ & such shalow flatt/ made therew/ y ryght smal vessels had now mych woꝝke to come in at dyuers tyd/ where grete shypys were whin few yerys passed accustomed to ryde wout dyspicultie. And som layng y sawt to Goodwyn sande/ sū to y landis Inned by dyuers owners in y Ile of Tenate oute of y chanel/ in which the se was wont to cūpace the Ile & bynge the vessels round about yt/ whose course at y ebbe was wont to scoure the haven/ whych now the see excluded thense/ for lacke of such course and scourynge ys chokked by wyth sande/ as they thus alledged dyuers men dyuers causes/ there starte by one good old father & sayd/ ye maysters say euery man what he wyll/ cha marked this mater as wel as sū other/ & by god I wote how it waxed nought well ynoughe. For I knew yt good/ & haue marked so chaue whā it bygan to wax woꝝs. And what hath hurt it good father quod these gentylmen. By my

part

The fourth booke.

farth maysters w^{ch} he ponder same ten-
 terden stepell & nothyng ellys / that by
 y^e masse sholde thwere a fayre fysthepole.
Why hath y^e stepell hurt y^e hauen good
 father w^{ch} they. Nay byz lady maysters
 w^{ch} he ych can not tell you wel why / but
 chote well yt hath. For by god I knew
 y^e a good hauen tyll y^e steple was byl-
 ded. And by y^e Mary masse cha marked
 yt well yt neuer throue synnys. And
 thus wylly spake these holy Luthera-
 nys / which sowing scylmes & ledycyos
 among crysten people / lay the losse ther
 of to the wythstandyng of the Turkes
 inuasyon / & the resystynge of hys ma-
 tyce / where they sholde rather yf they
 had eny reason in theyr heddyng / lay yt
 to the contrary. For whan cryste prync-
 es dyd theyr deuoyze agayst mylcrea-
 tis and infydels / there be stozes and
 monumentys ynoughe that wytnesse
 the manyfest ayde and helpe of god in
 grete byctozes gyuen to good crysten
 pryncis by his almyghty hand. But on
 the tother syde synnys that thambicio
 of crysten rulers despyng eche others
 domynyon / haue set theym at warre /
 and dedly dyssensyon amonge the self /
 wherby whyle eche hath aspyred to
 thenhauncyng of hys owne / they haue
 bytell forced what came of the comen
 corpes of crystendome / god for the reu-
 gnyng of theyr inordynate appettytes /
 hath wythdrawen hys helpe and sye-
 wed that he careth as lytell / suffryng
 whyle eche of them laboereth to ete by
 other / the Turke to prosper and so fer-
 forth to procede / that yf theyr blynde
 affectyons loke not therto the sooner /
 he shall not fayle (whyche our lord
 forbode) (wythin shorte processe to swa-
 lowe the all.

And albe yt Crist forbode saynt Pe-

ter beyng a preste / and vnder hym self
 pryncce of hys prestys to fyght wyth y^e
 tempozall sworde / towarde thempe-
 chement and resystence of hys scrutiful
 passyon / wheruppon depēded y^e saluacyō
 of mankynde / whych affectyō our sa-
 uour had byfoze that tyme so loze re-
 proued and rebuked in hym / that he
 called hym therfoze Sathā / yet ys yt
 nothyng to y^e purpose to alledge / y^e by y^e
 ensāple tēperall prynces shold about the
 let of suche spryтуall profyte & the suf-
 fraūce of mych spryтуall harme suffer
 theyr people to be inuaded and oppres-
 sed by infydels / to theyr better vndo-
 yng not onely tempozall but also of a
 grete part ppetuall / whych were lyke
 of theyr frayletye for fere of wordely
 grete & incōmodyte / to fall fro y^e fayth
 & renue theyr baptyse. In whyche pa-
 cell syth our lord wold not y^e eny man
 shold wylfully put hym self / & for y^e cau-
 se aduyled his dyscyples y^e yf they were
 pursued in one cytye / they shold not cū
 forth & solehardely put the self in parel
 of renueng Crist by impacys of som in-
 tollerable summet / but rather fle thens
 in to som other place wher they myght
 serue hym in quyet / tyll he shold suffer
 the to fall in suche popnt y^e there were
 no way to escape / & than wold he haue
 the abyde by theyr takelig lyke mygh-
 ty champpons / wherein they shall not
 in suche case fayle of hys helpe. Now
 all be yt so that Crist and hys holy
 appostles / exhorte euery man to pa-
 cyence and sufferaunce / wythoute re-
 quytynge of an euyl dede or makynge
 eny defence / but blyng fether suffer-
 raūce / & doyng also good for euyl / yet
 neyther doth this counsayll bynd a mā y^e
 he shall of necessity agayst y^e comen na-
 ture / suffer a nother man cawselesse

to kill hym: how letteth not eny man
 fro þe defence of a nother: who he seeth
 innocēt and invaded and oppressed by
 malice. In whiche case both nature/
 reason: & goddys byhelpe byndeth/ fyrst
 þe pryncys to þe saufgarde of hys peple
 with þe parell of hym self/as he taught
 Moyses to know hym self bounden to
 kill þe Egypciens in þe defence of He-
 brew: & after he byndeth euery mā to þe
 helpe & defence of hys good & harmles
 neyghbour/agaist þe malice & crueltye
 of þe wrog doer. For as þe holy scripture
 sayth/vnicuiqs dedit de⁹ curā de p^{ro}xi-
 mo suo/god hath gyue euery mā charge
 of his neyghbour to kepe hi fro harme
 of body and soule/as mychas may lye
 in hys power. And by thys reason ys
 not only excusable but also comēdable/
 þe comē warre which euery peple taketh
 in þe defence of thei^r cūtre agaist eny
 þe wold invade it/syth þe euery mā sygh-
 teth not for þe defence of hym self of a p-
 uate affectio to hym self/but of a crystē
 charyte/for þe saufgarde & p^{ro}tection of
 all other. which reason as it hath place
 in all batayle of defence/so hath it most
 especyally in þe batayle by which we de-
 fend þe crystē cūtre agāist þe Turkes/
 in þe we defend ech other fro far þe more
 parell and losse/both of worldly sub-
 stance/ bodyly hurte/ and perdyccion
 of mennys soules. And now ys thys be-
 lyefull and entoynd also to euery p^{ri}-
 uate person/ how mych more bylogeth
 yt to pryncis and rulers/ which ys they
 may not bypon the parell of thei^r sou-
 les wytyngly suffer amonge þe people
 whome they haue in gouernaunce eny
 one to take away a nothers hōse/ how
 may they wythout eternall dāpnacyō
 suffer other people and especyally infy-
 delys/ to come in/ spoyle/ and robbe/ &

captiue the all: And ys they be boundē
 to þe defence and may not do yt alone/
 what madnes were yt to saye that the
 people may not helpe thei^m.

The .xv. chaptyer.

That pryncys be bounden to pu-
 nysh the heretyques/ & that saye han-
 delyng helpeth yt tell wth many of
 thei^m.

And surely as the p^{ri}ncys be boū-
 den þe they shall not suffer thei^r
 peple by infydels to be invaded/ so te
 they as depely bounden that they shall
 not suffer thei^r peple to be seduced &
 corrupted by heretyques/ syth þe parell
 shall in shōrt whyle growe to as grete
 bothe wth mennys soules wth ch^{ri}stē
 wen from god/ and thei^r goodys lost/
 and thei^r bodies destroyed by comē se-
 dyccion/ insurreccion/ and open warre/
 wth in the bowells of thei^r owne
 lande. All whiche maye in the begyn-
 nyng be ryght easely auoyded/ by pu-
 nyshment of those few that be þe fyrste/
 whiche few well repressed/ or ys nede
 so requyre vtterly pulled bp/ there shal
 fatte the fewer haue lyst to folowe.
 For ys they were handled in a contra-
 ry maner/ & as ye semed to mene in the
 begynnyng of our mater/ in stede of pu-
 nyshment/ enticed/ fauored/ & by saye
 wordys and rewardys brought home
 agayne/ I fere m^{ore} then that ys sholde
 fynde yt tell fowte in that fallow. For
 fyrste where as they fall in to heresye
 by pryde/ that way wolde make them
 prouder/ & set þe more by the selfe. And
 thā wold many mo fall therto/ of pur-
 pose to be hired agayn thei^r selfe. So ys
 māmoluk & genylarys about þe turke
 and sowdeyn haue bled to crystē thei^r
 chyldren of purpose þe by þe renayng of
 thei^r

The fourth booke.

they sayth after/they myght be made
māmolukes or genylarpes as they fa-
thers were/and may be had in þ more
estymacyō and fauour about the grete
turke/euen lyke wyle wythin a whyle
yf we take that way wyth heretyques
we shall haue pong fresh felowes fyrst
bycome heretyques/ that they maye be
prayed & hyed after to com to Crystys
sayth agayne. I wolde not they were
ouer hastily handled/ but lytel rygour
and myche mercy shewed where sym-
plenes appered and not hygh hart or
malysce. For of suche as be proude
and malycyouse/ myche proude hath
bene made all redy. For of some sorte
many full saye handled/ lytell chaū-
ge theym self or come to good amende-
ment. I tolde you my selfe and very
true yt was of thwayne that were de-
tected of heresye vnto the moost hono-
rable prelats of this realme/ & in what
benygne fatherly maner and lyberall
also he delt wyth them. And yet what
amendement made bys gentyll & cour-
teyse intrete/ in theyre stoburne sto-
make/ were they not after woyle then
they were byfore/ and so bled them self
that after myche harme done by them/
the came in shorte space after to they
open couercon. They be ye wote wel
at þ fyrst custumably receyued to gra-
ce/ & verily that for such merytys/ for-
gyuenes ys rewarde ynoughe. And yf
they can not by that warnyng be war-
ned/ surely as saynt Dowle saythe he
ys not to be trusted of tē/ but rather of
all good crysten peple to be eschewed &
auoyded from the flokke. For they be so
for warē croked/ that seldome can they
be ryghted agayne.

¶ For loth quod poure frende yet as I
sayd at my fyrst comynge to you/ were

I woorthy to be of counsayll wyth the
clergy when there were a man foun-
den fawtye therin/ whome the people
haue in good estymacion for som grete
opynyō of lernynge and vertue/ they
shold be secretly & soberly monysshed/
and not the mater publshed among þ
peple. And synally yf they so shold ne-
dys be openly conuented and corrected
in face of the world/ than wold I not
yet haue the called Lutherans/ lest þ
peple whych had good opynyō of the/
or yf they happen to perceyue theym
for nought and so take them/ thā shall
they peraduenture gyue the lesse cre-
dence to all good men/ and set the lesse
by all good precheours after.

¶ Surely quod I certayne rule that
were alway best/ were hard to gyue in
suche case. Somtyme there may perad-
uenture suche honestye be toynd wyth
such repentance/ that yt wolde not be
myche a mysse to preserue the manys
estymacion among the peple/ to whom
bys persayte chaung may petras more
than recompence bys forynare erroure
and ouersyght. But where as the con-
trary shall seme conuenient/ there can
I not se why we sholde forbere to call
theym Lutherans/ syth yt is both an
olde blage to call heretyques after the
name of hym whō they folow in they
heresye/ and also as Luthers sect ys in
efferte the hole hepe of all heresyes ga-
thered together/ yt ys nowe all one to
call hym a Lutheran or to call hym
an heretyque/ those two word beyn
in maner equyualent/ Luther techyn
all moost nothyng but heresyes/ noz
none heresyes folowden eny where all
moost that the Lutherans haue not
amonge theym. And syth yt lōys/ rea-
son doth in my mynde requyre that the
name

name of Lutherans shold be custuma-
bly brought in many's eyes as aduouse
as the name of heretiques. For I se
not so grete fere that eyther folke shall
for oppnyon of any manny's vertue in
whom they se theym self deceyued / w-
drawe theyr fauoure and affectyon fro
such as are good in dede / or fall in to y
fauour of Luthers secte for thestyma-
cyon of the mā whom they now se pre-
ued nought. For thys wyll no man do
but suche as eyther be so folysh y they
wolde hate all Crystys apostles for y
falshe de of Judas / or so noughty that
thy wold sayne haue all the world fall
to the same sect & be of theyr own lupt.

The. xvi. chaptyer.

Of symple vnlearned folke y are
deceyued by the great good oppnyō
that they haue percas in the lerning
and lpyng of some that teche them
errours.

Howlothe quod your frende yet
wold there me thinketh be mich
pytye vled in those maters among. For
many a man vnlearned when he hereth
one that he taketh for cunnyng / & seeth
such a man as he taketh for vertuous /
comend Luthers way / he ys of symple
nes and good mynde moued to folowe
y same. **S**urely quod I therin I say
not nay but that these thyngys beyng
such / grete pytye yt ys to se many good
symple sowlys deceyued and led out of
the ryght way by the authoryte of such
as they taken for good men and cun-
nyng / whom they haue eyther by open
sermons or secreete comynycacyon per-
ceyued to be fauourers of that vngre-
cyous sect / thynkyng that men of such
cunnyng and knowlege in scrypture /
beyng therwyth of suche vertuous be-
hauour as they seme to be / wolde lene

to that waye / but yt they knewe yt for
good. And surely wher it so happeneth
that any symple soule ys by the good
oppnyon that he hath in hys mayster
led out of the ryght bylke of y sayth /
wennynng y were y very sayth whych
he seeth hys mayster whō he rekeneth
good & cunnyng folow and lene vnto /
yt ys a very pyteous thyng. And as y
person ys lesse in blame & more easely
cured / so ys that mayster double damp-
ned / as the cause both of hys owne syn
& hys y foloweth hym / and very hard
ys he to mend. How be yt somtyme we
deserue wyth our synne that god for y
punysment therof / suffreth vs to haue
lewde leders and euill techers. And su-
rely for the more part such as be ledde
out of y ryght way / do rather fall ther-
to of a lewd lyghtenesse of theyr owne
mynde / then for any grete thyng that
moueth them in theyr mayster that
techeth them. For we se theym as re-
dy to blyue a purser a glouer or a we-
uer that nothyngs can do but scantely
rede englysh / as well as they wold by-
leue the worst and the best lerned doc-
tour in a realme. How be yt be a man
neuer so wel lerned / and seme he neuer
so vertuous / yet can we wyth no rea-
son excuse our selfe / yf we leue y ryght
blyue for y trust that we haue in any
man erthely. For our blyue ys taughe
vs by god surely planted in the chyrch
of Cryst / & thartycles therof not newe
bygon / but now contynued many an
hundred yere in the grete congregacyō
of crysten peple / as thyngys certayne /
sure / & stable / and out of all questyon /
whych none heretique doth or can de-
nye / and in the hartys of this congre-
gacyon be they wyrtten by y holy hand
wyke of god. And therfore accused
ys be

The fourth boke.

Is he that thowgh hys trust put in eny man / byleueth the contrary of eny poynt of the chyrche of Cryst ys taught to byleue by god.

¶ Thys sayth was taught by Cryste / preched by hys apostles / of thys wrote hys euangelistes / & many mo thynges were taught thā are wyrtten. And thys sayth sholde haue ben taught and fer- mely standen / all though nothyng had ben wyrtten. And the articles of thys sayth had in mēis hartys / be the iust & sure rule of constructyon by whiche we constre & vnderstand the holy scrip- ture of ys wyrtte. For very sure are we of who so wold constre eny text of holy scripture / in suche wyse as he wolde make yt seme contrary to eny poynt of thys catholyke sayth whych god hath taught hys chyrch / he gyueth the scrip- ture a wong sentēce / & therby techeth a wong byleue. And as saynt Doule sayth cūsed be he and though he were an aungell of heuen. And therfore be we not excusable of we byleue eny mā to the cōtrary of of sayth / how good or how cūning so euer he seme / whyle we se of he techeth vs a wong way whych we may sone know of we be good crystē and know the helye all redy.

¶ And we maye haue also a grete gesse therat / of he techeth vs secretly as a pry- uy mystery / the doctrine that he wold not were vtteryd and shewed openly. For suche thyngys be they comenly of these heretyques teche in hūcker mur- ker / agaynst of sayth of al the chyrch by- leueth. Now wold I gyue thys coun- sayle to every vnlearned man / whā eny man so techeth the whom thou hast in grete estimaciō for vertue or cūning / thā cōsider i thy self of he neyther hath more vertue nor more cūning / thā had

saynt Austayn / saynt Hierome / saynt Ambrose / saynt Gregoꝝ / saynt Cyprian / saynt Chrysostome / with many old fa- thers and holy doctours whiche byle- ued all they dāres & dyed in of helye that thou byleuest all redy / wherof he techeth the contrary. And so say bolde- ly to hym than of he wold begyle the. And say of those holy doctours byleued not as thou dost / but as he sayth byng hym to of takenynge byfoze some other good and wel lerned men. And I dare be bold to warraunt of thou shalt fynde hym dowble false. For neyther shalt thou fynd it true of he told the / & bysde of he shall not let to helye the / sayng & swerig to of thou sayest wong on hym / and that he neuer told the so.

¶ Many say of your frēd he wyll haply say of he were peraduēture in of poynte to be pardoned / bycause of of leopardy of he might fall in to by of maynter aūce of his oppnyō. ¶ Pardo hym of ye wyl of I. But yet ys he not than so good as were those good fathers. For eyther ys hys way nought / & thā doth he nought to teche of / or of he be good / than is he nought / that for eny fere forsaketh of. For he of forsaketh eny trowth of Cryst / sayth / forsaketh Cryst. And thā sayth our saupour that who so doth / shall be forsaken of hym. And he that so doth he ys not to be byleued lyke those holy fa- thers / which haue taught vs far of gtra- ty. For they did abyde by of right faith that they taught / which is as by they bokys appereth / the selfe same sayth of thou byleuest. And so ferforth abydde they therby / that dyuers of them lustey ned grete persecucion therfore / & some of theym deth & martyrdome. So that we were more than madde of we had not leuer send our sowlys to of sowlys of

of those holy fathers/ of whose cūnyng vertue/ and saluacyon/ we be sure/ thā to caste theym away wyth these folke/ whych how holy so euer they seme/ yet shew the self nought/ in y they teche y contrary of suche thyngis as those vndowted holy doctours taught.

Inmetuaple the quod your friend why they lyue so vertuously/ fastynge & gyuyng the good in almyse/ wyth other vertuouse exercyse/ both in forbyng the pleasure of the woꝛlde/ and also takynge payne in theyre bodys.

To this mater quod I our sauoure hym self answereth where he sayth in the gospell of Mathew/ Attendite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in bestimentis ouium/ intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces. Beware of the false prophetys that come to you in the clothyng of shepe/ and yet wythynforth ben rauenouse wolues. For lyth y they by false doctryne labour to deuour and destroye mē sculy/ we be sure ynough that wolues they be in dede/ how shepyshely so euer they loke. And ypoctys must they nedys be/ lyth they be so denounced by goddys owne mouthe. And well may we perceyue that he meneth not well/ whā he teacheth euyll. And that euyll he teacheth we may wel wote/ whā we se hym teche y cōtrary of y whych god hath all redy taught hys hole chyꝛch. In which hath bē so many holy fathers/ so many cūnyng doctours and so many blessed martyrs/ y so haue byddē by y saythe to y deche/ y y were a scenelye/ yf we wold now agaynst so many such/ byleue eny false heretyque & saynyng ypoctyte/ techynge vs the cōtrary. **O**f those holy fathers of our sayth whom theyre bokys sheweth to haue byleued as we byleue/ we haue

seene and knowen theyre vertuouse lyfe well proued by theyre blessed ende/ in whych our lord hath testyfyed by many a myracle/ y they sayth & they lyys hath lyked him. But now haue we yet seene eny such thyng by eny of these heretyques. For yet so myche as eny constauce in theyre doctryne/ but yf they were onys found out and examyned/ we se theym alwaye fyrst redy to lye and forswere the self yf y wyl serue. And whā that wyl not helpe but they falsed and perjury proued in theyre sayys/ than redy be they to abiure & forsake it/ as long as that may saue theyre lyys. For neuer yet found I eny one/ but he wold onys abiure though he neuer intended to kepe his othe. So holy wold he be and so wys therwith/ that he wolde wyth perjury kyll hys soule for euer/ to saue hys body for a whyle. For comenly sone after suche as so do/ shewe theym selfe agayne/ god of hys ryghtuousnes not sufferyng y they fals forswering shold stand the lōg in dede.

The. xvi. chapyter.

The authoꝛ sheweth y som which be Lutherans & seme to lye holy/ and therfore be byleued & had in estymacyon/ entende a fether purpose then they pretend/ whych they wyl well shewe yf they may onys fynde theyre tyme.

Ad as for theyre lyuyng/ the good apparence wherof ys the thyng that most blyndeth vs/ as mych suretye as we haue of the godly lyfe of our olde holy fathers/ wherof y wold hath wyten/ and god hath boꝛne wytnes by many grete myacles shewed for theyre sakes/ as vncertayn be we of these men/ wyth whom we neyther be alway present/ and lytell also can tell what

The fourth booke.

what adomyngacyōs they may do to ſū
of the ſecretely. For yet cā know they
entēt & purpoſe that they appoynt bpō
and y^e cauſe for whyche they be for the
whyle cōtent to take all the payne.

¶ Verry certayne ys yt y^e p^ride ys one
cauſe wherfore they take the payn. For
p^ride ys as ſaynt Auſteyn ſayth/ y^e be-
ry mother of all hereſyes. For of an
bygh mynd to be in y^e lykig of y^e peple/
hath cūmyn in to many men ſo mad a
mynde & ſo frantique/ y^e they haue not
tought what payn they toke wout eny
other recōpence or rewarde/ but only y^e
fond pleaſure & delyte y^e the ſelf cōceyue
in they^r harte/ whā they thynke what
wozthyp y^e peple talketh of them. And
they be y^e deuyls martyrs/ takig myche
payn for his pleaſure/ & his very appys/
whō he maketh to rūble thozow y^e hope
of y^e holynes y^e putteth the to payne w
out fruite. And yet of tētymes maketh
the myſle of y^e bayn p^raple wherof only
they be ſoprowde. For whyle they de-
lyte to thynke how they be take for ho-
ly/ they be many tymys wel perceyued
and taken for ypocrytys as they be.

¶ But ſuche ys thys curſed affectyō of
p^ride/ and ſo depe ſetteth in y^e clawys
where yt catcheth/ y^e hard yt ys to pull
the out. ¶ This p^ride hathere this made
ſū lerned mē to deuyle newe fantyſyes
in our fayth/ bycauſe they wold be ſyn-
gular among the people/ as dyd Arius
Faustus Belagran & dyuers other old
heretyques. whole falſe oppnyōs haue
ben long tyme paſſed opely cōdemned
by many holy ſynodes & generall cō-
ſayles/ & now god be thanked not only
they^r oppnyōs quenched/ but alſo all
they^r bok^s clene gone & vaniſhed quye
away/ ere euer eny law was made for
ſuch bokys burnig. So y^e well appe-

reth to haue bē y^e only worke of god y^e
hath deſtroyed thoſe woꝝkys/ whiche
wrought in they^r tymys myche harme
in hys chyꝛch. ¶ Thys affectyō of p^ride
hath not only made ſom lerned men to
hrynge forth newe ſatayſes/ but maketh
alſo many men of mich leſſe thā meane
lernig ſo ſore to long to ſeme far better
lerned thā they be/ y^e to make the peple
haue the inauthoryte/ they deuyle newe
lectys & ſcylmys to the pleaſure of newe
fangle folk/ ſparyng no payne for the
whyle to ſet forth they^r ſect wythall/
rewardynge they^r labour wyth onely
delyte of beholdyng what pleaſure the
people haue in they^r p^rechyng.

¶ And albert y^e thys frātique pleaſure
wyth wyche y^e deuyl inwardly fedeth
the/ be y^e onely thyng y^e ſatysfies & cō-
tēteth ſom/ yet many are ther of thoſe
y^e euyl techeth & appere holy/ whyche are
bothe ſecretely moze loſe & voluptuouſe
then they ſeme. And ſome alſo whyche
worely kepe the ſelfe for y^e whyle/ en-
tend towarde moze lybetall lewdneſſe
at length. ¶ Wyl ye ſe enſample therof/
loke on Tyndall y^e tranſlated y^e newe
teſtament/ whyche was in dede (as ye
ſayd in y^e begynnig) byfore hys goyng
ouer/ takē for a man of ſober & honeſte
lyuing/ & lokē & p^reched holily/ ſauig
y^e yet ſomtyme it ſauored ſo ſhrewdly/
y^e he was onys oz twyſe examyned ther
of. But yet bycauſe he glosed then hys
woꝝdys wyth a better lence/ & ſayde &
ſware y^e he mēt none harme/ folk were
glad to take all to the beſte. But yet ye
ſe y^e though he dyſſembled hym ſelfe to
to be a Lutherane oz to bere eny fauor
to hys ſecte whyle he was here/ yet as
ſone as he gate hym hēſe/ he gate hym
to Luther ſtrayge. And where as in
y^e tranſlacyon of the newe teſtament he
courted

covered and dyssembled hym selfe as myche as he coude / yet when he perceived hys cloked hereses aspyed and dystoyed / then shewed he shortly hym selfe in hys awne lykenes / sendyng forth the fyfte hys wykked boke of Hammona / and after hys malycyouse boke of obedyence. In which bokys he sheweth hym selfe so puffed wyth the payson of pryde / malyce / and enuye / that yt ys more then meruayle that the skynne can hold together. For he hath not onely sowked owte y mooste payson that he coude fynde thowhe all Luthers bokys or take of hym by mouth / and all that hath the spette owte in these bokys / but hath also in many thyngs farre passed his master / turnyng forth the so inadde for malyce / that he saith as though he herd not his awne voyce. He barketh agaynst the sacramentys mych more than Luther. For where as Luther lefte yet some confessyon / and rekened this secreete confessyon necessary and profytable though he set a letwode lybertye therein / Tyndall taketh yt a way quyte / and sayeth theron sayth yt was bygotte by the deuyl. whiche thyng hadde vndoubtedly neuer bene obtayned amonge the people / that folke shoulde shewe theym selfe thesre secreete synys to a nother man / yf god hadde not broughte yt wyth hym selfe. For neuer coude yt haue continued so many hundred yers wythout great harme growen by dyscloyng of many manys offencys / yf the holy spyryte of god hadde not assysted hys holy sacrament as the kyngys hyghnesse most prudently wyrteth. Luther also sūtpme affermeth purgatorye / sūtpme dowreth / and sūtpme denyeth. But Tyndall putteth no dowte at all / but denyeth yt as vcterly / as foloweth /

out ground / cause / or colour layed merke fore. Concernyng y holy masse / Luther as mad as he ys was neuer yet so mad as Tyndall ys / whiche lyke hym selfe sayeth therbypon in hys scantrque boke of obedyence / that eny good churche man wold abhorre to cede yt. And yet wyrtynge as he doth / he is not ashamed to saye that the churche wyl not beleue holy saynte Hierome / saynte Anstayne / and such other as though these holy doctours were on his side. Among all whom he shall scant cede one lere wherin he shall not fynde one or other of his abhominable hereses reproued. Luther hym selfe was neuer so shamelesse to say / that these holy fathers held on hys syde. But because they were agaynst hym / he reiecteth thauthoryte of the al. But what conscience hath this Tyndall that thus can wyrt to bynd vnderne people wyth / when hym selfe well knoweth that they do all wyth one voyce proue that shypste and confessyon ys of necessity requysite to our saluacyon / and that they lay for them the holy scripture plentifully / for the fether proue of this parte / whiche Tyndall wolde wykkedly with onely saynyng and gestyng agaynst all thesre holesome doctryne dyspue away clene and be childe. He knoweth also hym selfe that all they wyth one voyce teche and proue by scripture to / that there ys the fyre of purgatory / whiche I matuayle why Tyndall fereth so lytell / but yf he be at a playne poynt wyth hym selfe to go strapte to hell. They teche also all wyth one voyce the great profyte of the masse and honoure that ought to be done thereto / whiche Tyndall teacheth to dyshonoure.

¶ They teche all y worshippyng of ymagis / relikys / & prayng to sayntis /

¶ & goyng

The fourth boke.

gopng on pylgrymag^e / & credēce to be
goue to myracles / of al which Tyndal
techech & cōtrary.

All they tech also chastyte / & prech high
pseminēce of vrggnyte & wpdowhed
aboue weddig / & euet in abomynaciō &
bzech of eny dow of chastyte / where as
Tyndal agaisst the al techig & cōtrary /
is therin so shamelesse & so lytel respect
hath of his own cōscience / & semig al the
to wypte agaisst hym & hym self agaisst
the al / & pēuety mā p lerned is must ne
d^e pēpue his shamelesse boldenes ther
in / lettech not yet both to raple agaisst
Crist^e chrych for sayng as these old ho
ly sapntys sayd byfore / & also to say &
chrych wyll not here the / wher as hym
self seeth & p chrych & they saye all one
thyng / & as well they as p chryche ab.
hoze & condempne his dedly dāpnable
herespes

¶ Now wene I that we nede lytel to
doute how he lyueth / & thus wyrteth.
He lyueth of lykelyhed as euill as he
techech / & woys he can not. But as I
began to say this Tyndal in p begyn-
nyng bare forth a sayre face / & semed
vnto p people gaduēture an honest mā /
as som other hapelpp do now to hom pe
speke of / which whē they se they tyme
shal yf thei may be suffred / cast of thei
byfours of ypocrysy / & shew the self at
lęth in they own lykenes as he doth
now. ¶ I pray you loke on luther hym
self. yf he shold in the begynning haue
sayd all p he hath sayd lynes / who could
haue suffred hym / yf he sholde in p be-
ginnig haue martyred a māne / wold not
p people haue burnyd him. And yet now
lytill & lytill he hath brought the to
becōtent ther w. And let vs not thynk
p cōtrary but p of those heretys / & here
seme so good yf ther be eny such / we se
not yet thei stomak / but shall yf they
be upholdē a whyle se the folow they

authoz in lewd lynyng doctour & luther
wth hys lēnā & shall by the deuyls help
enduce good & sympell soulys so far in
to wozong ways / & they shall at lęnch
well lyke & cōmende p thynars whych
now they incorrupted cōscience abhoz-
reth. And therfoze let all good crystē pe
ple knock & bzeke as holy scripture cōf-
fayleth p yong chylidrens hedys of Ba-
bylō agaisst p stone / & is to say let good
crysten folke suspect / abhoze / & pursue
in p begynnig all such euill doctryne /
as is cōtrary to p fayth and teching of
Cristys catholyke chrych / whiche god
and his holy spyrte both by wyrtng &
about wyrtig hath taught his chrych /
& whych hath in hys chrych conynued
fro Cristys dayes hether to / as yt well
apperech by p good & godly bok^e of all
out foze farchets holy doctours of Cry-
stys chrych mylptaut here in erth / and
now glozpous sayntys in his chryche
trumpphant in heuen. I come whose
ferme fayth ioynded with good wozyks
which as two wyngis carped the bp to
heue / ther shal but we be moze thā mad
no fond heteryque lede vs / seme he ne-
uer so sayntly wth eny new cōstruccyō
of Cristys holy holpell oz other parte
of holy scripture / whych no wyle man
wyll dout but p those holy cōnyng mē
illumined wth p grace of god / mych bet-
ter vnderstode thā all p rabell of these
lewd heretiques. Of all whych p euet
spzāg in cristis chitch / & very woys & p
most bestly be these lutheran^e as they
oppnyōs & they lewd lynyng sheweth.
And let vs neuer dout but all p be of p
sect yf eny seme good as very few do /
yet wyl they i cōclusyō declyne to p ly-
ke leud luyg / as they mayster & they
felows do yf thei might on^e (as by god.
dis grace the inueit shal) scame p people
to thei own scāpthe fātely. which dyl
folgt thys they do bynt to dissoble / by-
cause

cause they: And p̄ce is not yet brought
to þ̄ poynt to bere/ whyche they surely
trust to byrninge aboute & to frame thys
realme after þ̄ fashō of Swytherland
or Saronp & som other ptes of Germa-
ny/ where they sette hath all redy for-
done þ̄ sayth/ pulled down þ̄ chyrces/
polluted þ̄ tēples/ put out & spoyled all
good relygyō folk/ toynded freys & nū-
nys together in lechery/ despyred all
saintys/ blasphemed our blessed lady/
cast down Crist's crosse/ throwē out the
blessyd sacramēt/ refused al good law/
abhorred al good gouernaūce/ rebelled
agaist all rulers/ fall to fyght among
thē self/ & so many thousand flayn/ þ̄
land lyeth in many plac in maner de-
sert & desolate/ & fynally þ̄ most abomi-
nable is of all/ of all they: own vngar-
tyō dede lay þ̄ fault in god/ takig away
þ̄ lyberte of mānys wyl/ ascribig all
oure dedis to destenye/ wryth all re-
warde or punishment purchynge by-
pon all our doyngeys. wherby they take
away all dyligēce & good endeuour to
vertue/ all wistādyng & stryng agāst
vyce/ all care of heuen/ all fere of hell/
al cause of prayer/ al desyre of deuociō/
all exhortaciō to good/ al dehortaciō frō
euil/ all prayse of wel doynge/ al rebuke
of syn/ all þ̄ law of þ̄ world/ all reio-
mōg mē/ let al wychednes a broche/ no
mā at lybertie/ & yet euery mā do what
he wyl/ callig it not his wyl but his de-
steyn/ layng they: syn to goddys ordy-
nāce/ & they: punishment to godd's cru-
eltye/ & fynally turnyng the nature of
mā in to wors thā a beste/ & þ̄ goodnes
of god in to wors thā þ̄ deuyll. And al
this good frute wold a few myscheuo-
plons/ sū for desyre of a large lyberte
to an vnbyrdeled letwōnes/ & sū of an
hys deuplysh pryde closed vnder p̄tē
of good zele & symplenes/ vndowpdy
byrning in to this reame/ of þ̄ p̄p̄te & þ̄

latys & þ̄ good faythfull peple dyd not
in þ̄ begynig mete w̄ they: malice.

The .xviii. chapyter.

The authoz sheweth þ̄ in þ̄ cōdem-
nacyō of heretykes/ þ̄ clergye might
lawfully do much more sharply thā
they do/ & þ̄ dede þ̄ clergye doth note
no more agāst heretykes/ thē þ̄ ap-
tel cōsaileth/ & þ̄ old holy doctores did

Eas for þ̄ clergye whō they la-
bour to byrning i harted vnder þ̄
fals accusacyō of crueltye/ do no more
therin thā saūt Austyn/ saūt Hierom &
other holy fathers haue be wōt to do by-
fore/ nor no fechter thā thapostle aduy-
seth hym self. For they do no more but
whā one heretyque after warnig wyl
not amēd but wareth wors/ eschew hē
thā & auoyd hē out of Crist's flock. which
is þ̄ bett̄r thig þ̄ saūt Doule cōsaileth
wher he wryteth to Cyprius/ hereticū ho-
minē post p̄mā & scōz cor̄ptionē de-
uita. And this is mych lesse þ̄ þ̄ clergye
doth to heretyks/ thā saūt peter dyd vnto
Ananias & Saphyra for a far small
let mater/ þ̄ is to wit for they: vntrew-
sayng & kepig asyde a porcion of they:
own money/ whā they made seblafice
as though they brought to thapostle all
together. For though they were not kyl-
led by his own hād/ yet appereth it wel
þ̄ god kyled thē both twayn by saūt Pe-
ter his mean' as gouernour of his chur-
che/ to þ̄ ferful exāple of al such as wold
after þ̄ byrke their pynse & vow to god
wyllygly made of thē self or they: own
good. which thig luther & tyndal wold
haue al mē do now. Dyd not saūt peule
wryte vnto þ̄ cor̄nythes/ þ̄ they shold
delquer to þ̄ deuyll hym þ̄ had defoyled
his fathers wyse/ to þ̄ punishment of
hys bodye that þ̄ sp̄rite myght be saued
in the day of iudgement/ what say we
of Hympneus and Alexander/ of whom
he wryteth vnto the cor̄nythes also

The fourth booke.

Hymyneus & **Alexander** tradidit sa-
thane/ vt discant nō blasphemare. ¶ I
haue quod he bytaken **Hymyneus** and
Alexander to the deuyl/ to teche them
to leue theyr blasphemie. In whiche
wordys we may well lerne/ that saint
Ioule as apostle & spirytual gouer-
nour in that cuntry syndyng them
twayn fallen from the fayth of chryst
in to the blasphemie of that they were
bounden to worschyppe/ dyd cause the
deuyl to turment and punyssh the
bodys/ whiche euery man may well
wyt was no small payne/ and peradue-
ture noth without deth also. For we
fynd no thyng of theyr amendement.
And this bodily punysshment dyd saint
Ioule as prapperech by o heretiques/
so that yf the clergie dyd vn to myche
more blasphemouse heretiques than
I weene they twayne were/ myche
more sorow than saynt Ioule dyd to
them/ they shold neyther do yt wout
good cause nor wout great authoryte/
and euydent example of chryst blyssed
apostles. And surely whā our saupour
hi selfe calleth such heretiques wolups
cloked in shepps skynnyngs/ and wold y
his shepherds the gouernours of his
flokke shold in such wyse auoyde them
as very shepheard is wold auoyde very
wolups/ ther ys lytell dowte but as an
honorable prelacie of this realme in his
most erudyte booke answereth vnto Au-
ther/ the prelacie chryst chyrch rather
ought reioysally to destroy those rauen-
nouse wolues/ thā suffer the to wyrrye
and deuoure euerlastyngly the flocke
that Cryste hath comytred vn to theyr
cure/ and the flocke that hym self dyed
for to saue yt from the wolups mouth.
But now though yt well appere as me
thyngeth yt doth that y clergie myght
in this case ryght soe procure agaynst
heretiques/ yet do they in dede do fer-

ther than the olde holy fathers dyd in
theyr tyme/ and the blessed apostle cou-
saileth them to do. But all the soe pu-
nysshment of heretiques wherewith
such folke as fauoure them wold sayne
dysfame the clergie/ ys and hath bene
for the great vttrages and temporall
harmes that such heretiques haue bene
alway wont to do/ and sedycious com-
mociouns y they be wont to make/ by-
syde the far passyng spirytual harmys
y they do to mēys soulys/ deuyls &
executed agaynst the of necessity by good
cristen pryncys & polytrique rulers of y
temporalte/ for as mych as theyr wyl-
domes well perceyued y y people shold
not fayne to fal in to many soe & intol-
erable troubles/ yf such sedicious sects
of heretiques were not by greuous pu-
nysshment repelled in the begynnyng/
& y sparkle well quenched ere yt were
sufficed to grow to our grete a fyre.
¶ For loth quod your scend yt appereth
well y the clergie is not in this mater
to be blamed as many men taken. For
yt semeth that the soe punysshment of
heretiques ys deuyls not by the cler-
gie/ but by temporall pryncys & good
lay peple/ and not without grate cause.
¶ Wel quod I & to thentet yre shal p-
ceyue yt mych y better/ & ouer y byleue
your owne yren & not my wordys in ma-
ny thing y ye haue herd of my mouth/
we wyll not parte this nyghte but I
shall delpyer in to your hand here mo-
bokys thā ye wyll rede ouer tyll to mo-
row. But for that ye shal neyther nede
to rede all/ nor lese tyme in sekynge for
that ye shold se/ I haue layd you y pla-
ces redy wryth rythes bytwene the le-
ys/ & notes marked in the mergent/
where the mater ys to docted. ¶ So
caused I to be bozne in to his chamber
a booke of decrees/ and settayn wordys
of saynt Cyprian & saynt Austyn
and

and some other holy doctours therewith
all a worke of twayne of Luther and
as many of Tyndall. And in this
worke went we to souper and on the
morrowe forbore I to speke wth hym tyl
nere dyner tyme. At whiche our me-
tyng / he shewed me y^e in the decrees
where the xps lay / namely in causa
xxii. questione quinta / a dyuers other of
the questyons consequently folowynge /
he had sene at full that y^e clergy dothe
at this day no fether for the punish-
ment of heretiques / than dyd the old
fathers and holy doctours a sayntis in
tyme passed / as by they^e own wordys
there alledged doth open and playnap-
pere. And that as well the clergy in y^e
persecutio of heretiques lawfully may
do / as the temporall prynces in warre
agaynst infydels be depely bounden
to do / much more than they now do /
or of longe tyme haue done / or yet as
it seemeth go about to do. And over this
he sayd y^e he had sene of Luthers owne
wordys worse than he had euer herd
reherced / a in Tyndall worse yet in ma-
ny thyngys thā he saw in Luther hym
self. And in Tyndals booke of obediēce
he sayd y^e he had founden what thyng
Tyndall sayth agaynst myracles and
agaynst the prayenge to sayntys.

¶ Wherof I a these two maters made
hs two much bysynes byfore your go-
yng to y^e vniuersyte. I wold it had hap-
ped you a me to haue red ouer that booke
of hys byfore. how be yt in good sayth
if ye wel / we shal yet peruse ouer his re-
sons in those popntys / a cōsider what
weyght is in the. ¶ Nay by my trowth
quod your frend we shal nede now to
lose no tyme therein. For as for myra-
cles / he sayth nothing in effect but that
whyeth I sayd agaynst them byfore / y^e
the myracles were the workys of the
deuyl. Saupng that wher I sayde y^e

yt myght peradventure be sayde so / y^e
sayth that in dede yt ys so / a pryncipal-
lyt lesse the I dyd. And therfore as for
that word of hys without better pro-
ys of lytell weyght. ¶ Forsoth quod I
Tyndals word alone ascribyng al the
myracles to the deuyl / ought not to
wey mych among crysten men / agayst
the wytyng of holy saynt Iustyn /
saynt Hierome / saynt Ambrose / saynt
Chrysostome / saynt Gregory / and ma-
ny an other holy doctour / wytyng ma-
ny a grette myracle don at holy pylgry-
magys and sayntys relikes / done in
ope presēce of many substantiual folk /
and dyuers done in they^e owne syght.
All whyche myracles all those blessed
sayntys do ascrybe vnto the worke of
god / a to y^e honour of those holy saintis
that were woꝛshypped at those pylgry-
magis. Agaynst all whom when Tynd-
all ascribeth them all to the deuyl /
he playnly sheweth hym self as sayth
full as he wolde seme / very nere lybbe
to thynfydelite of those Ictwes y^e ascrip-
bed Cryst myracles to the deuyl / sa-
yng y^e he dyd caste out deuyls by the po-
wer of Beelzebub pryncē of deuyls.
¶ Surely quod your frend and as for
that he reasoneth agaynst prayngs to
sayntys is very bare. ¶ It must nedys
wth I be bare / excepte he well auorde y^e
myracles. whereto whē he hath nothig
to say but to ascrybe goddys work to y^e
deuyl / he sheweth hym self deuyn to
a narrow strait. For he a his felowes
pares as touchyng myracles / neyther
haue god willyng / nor y^e deuyl able
to shew eny for y^e profe of they^e parr /
nor I trust in god neuer they shall.
¶ In sayth quod your frend as for re-
soning the mater of prayng to saynt /
he ys not worth the redyng now. For
all the substance in affecte y^e ys prou-
ved by ys by hys owne hys owne ched.

¶ That

The fourth booke.

¶ That is quod I no meruayle for he
 hath not herd it. **¶** In fayth quod your
 frend of hys owne makynge he layeth
 argumēt for yt such as he lyst. whych
 he layeth forth faynly/ and thā doth
 answer them so slenderly/ and all hys
 hole mater in those poyntys and other
 so playnely confuted by the olde holy
 fathers/ yf I had sene so myche by-
 fowle/ yt had ben lykely to haue shorted
 myche parte of our long comunicacion.
¶ For by my trouthe he wolā I consy-
 der both y partys well/ & rede Luthers
 word & Tyndals in some placis wher
 ye layed me the ryshes/ I can not but
 wonder yelther eny almayne could lyke
 the tone/ or eny englyshe man y tother.
¶ I can not myche meruayle quod I
 though many lyke them well. For syth
 there ys no cuntrie where in there lak-
 keth plēse of such as be nought/ what
 wonder ys yt that bycrouse folke fall
 to the fauoure of theyr lyke. And then
 as for such whē theyr hartys are onys
 fpyred vpon theyre blynde affectyons/
 a man may wyth as myche frute prech
 to a poste/ as reason wyth them to the
 contrary. For they no thyng ponder
 what ys resonably spoken to them/ but
 wherto theyr fond affectyō inclyneth/
 that thyng they lene to and thar they
 byleue/ or at the lesse wyle y way they
 walke & say they byleue yt. For in good
 fayth that they so byleue in dede/ theyr
 maters be so madde y I byleue yt not.
 And yet make thei sēblauns as though
 they byleued that no man were able to
 confute Luther or Tyndall/ where me
 chynketh for these maters of theyre
 heresies that they so set forth yf the
 andyence were indyfferent/ there were
 not in this world a man moze mete to
 matche them both twayne in dyspy-
 cions/ the were madde Colyns alone/
 yf he were not of the same secte. For he

lassethe owte scrypture in bebeleem as
 faste as they both. And in good faythe
 they both expowne yt as maddely as
 he. And so helpe me god as me thiberh
 y man ys as madde as eny of all thye/
 whych when he seeth the ryghte fayth
 of Cryste contynued in his catholyque
 chyrche so many hundred yeres/ and on
 that syde so many glouyouse martyrs/
 so many blissed confessours/ so many
 godly byrgynes/ and in all that tyme
 vertue had in honour/ fasting/ prayer/
 and almayse had in pryce/ god and his
 sayntys worshipped/ hys sacramentis
 had in reuerence/ chryste soulys tender-
 ly prayed for/ holy vowes kept & obser-
 ued/ byrgynyte preched & prayed/ pyl-
 grimagē deuoutly vsyted/ every kynd
 of good woorkes comended/ And seeth
 now sodenly startt vpp a new secte set-
 tyng forth elene y contrary destroyng
 chyrches holy sacramentys/ pullynge
 downe chryste crosse/ blasphemynge his
 blessed sayntys/ destroyng all deuocō/
 forbedyng mē to pray for theyr fathers
 scowls/ cōtempnyng fastyng dayes/
 settyng at nought the holy dayes/ pul-
 lynge downe the chyrchys/ raylynge
 agaynst the masse/ vylanously deme-
 nying the blessed sacrament of y atwete
 the sacred body of our sauour Chryste.
 And seeth the tone syde and the conty-
 nuance therof so clerely pved by many
 a thousande myracle/ so clerely testy-
 fied by y vertuose and erudyte book
 of all the olde holy doctours frome the
 apostles tyme to our dayes/ and seeth
 on the tother syde a fond scere and his
 felowes wythout wyte or grace bere
 ys in hand that all those holy fathers
 neuer vnderstode y scrypture/ but one-
 ly these bestys that teche ys vice as fast
 as euer the tother taughte ys vertue/ &
 y seeth on the tone syde saint Cypryane/
 saynt Hierome/ saynt Ambrose/ saynt
 Austeyne/

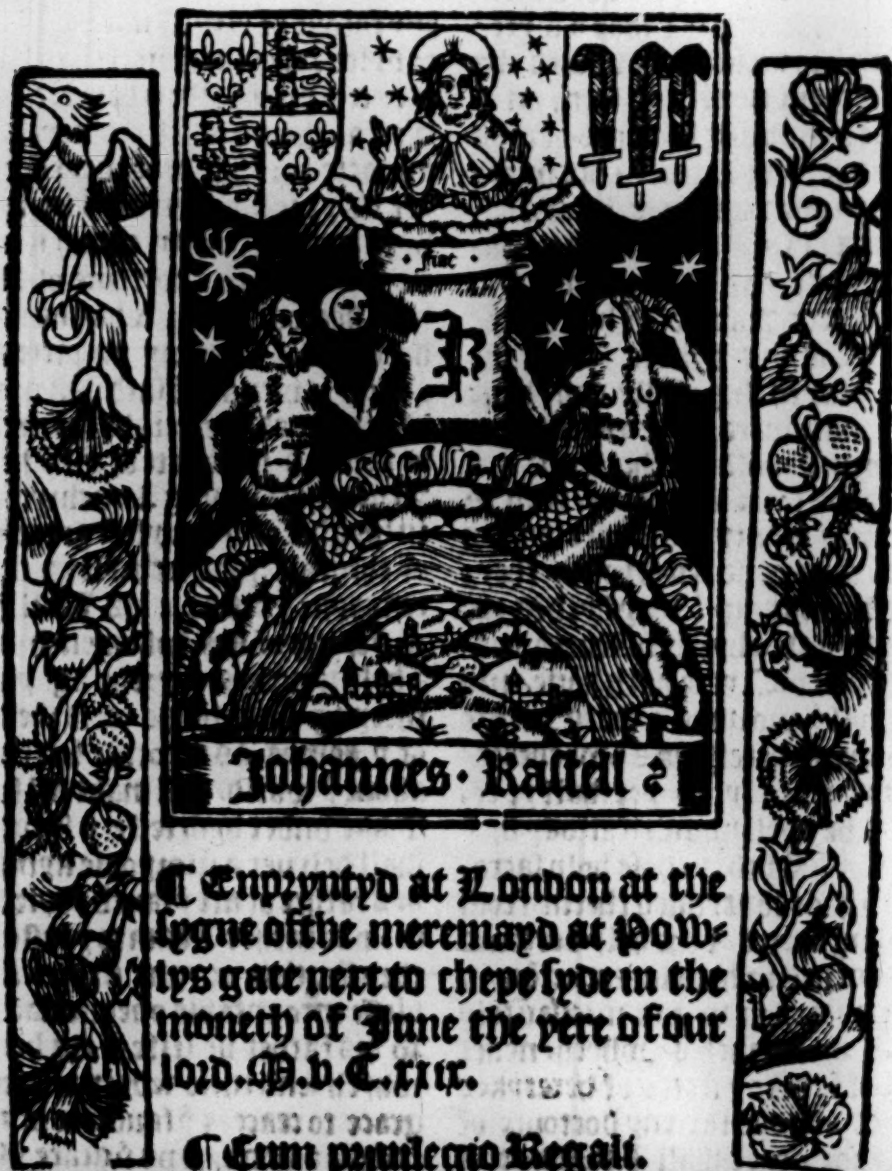
Austern/salt Bapyle/salt Chyloshe/
 saynt Gregoꝝ/ & all þe vertuous and
 cūnyng doctours by towe frome þe deeth
 of Criste & the tyme of his apostles tyll
 now/ & seeth among all these neyther
 preste monke noꝝ frere þe euer dyd after
 his pꝛessyō made/ mary & take a wyfe/
 oꝝ eny suffred to breke theyꝝ bowwed cha
 styce in all theyꝝ tyme/ and seeth on þe
 thoter syde none other doctours of this
 new secte but frere Luther & his wyfe/
 prest Bomerane & his wyfe/ frere Colo
 lampadius & his wyfe/ preste Carlostas
 dius & his wyfe/ dan Othomonke and
 hys wyfe/ frere Lambert & hys wyfe/
 frantpyque Colpys/ & moze frantpyque
 Tyndall þe sayth they muste nedꝛ haue
 wyfys/ þe man were I say as frantpyque
 as they both/ þe wolde rather sende hys
 soule wꝛ such a soꝛte as these be/ then wꝛ
 all those holy sayntys that euer spynys
 chrystys dayes haue testyfyed by theyꝝ
 holy hand wyrtynge/ þe they dyed in the
 same sayth þe the chyrche beleueth yet/
 and all this xv. C. yere hath done/ and
 shall do tyll þe worldys ende/ go there
 neuer so many heretyques owte therof/
 & leue yt neuer so lytell/ yet shall yt re
 mayne & be well knowen alway by þe
 pꝛofessyō of þe sayth/ & those holy sacra
 mentys þe haue contynued therein from
 þe begynnyng therof/ & the holy doctours
 therof euer had in honour & reuerence/ &
 theyꝝ acceptacyon wꝛ god incessantly
 testyfyed by myꝛacles/ whythe neuer
 one soꝛte of so many sectes of heretykes
 coulde yet alledge foꝝ eny doctoure of
 theyꝝ/ noꝝ neuer shall I thynke tyll
 þe great indygnacyon of god pꝛouoked
 by our synne & wꝛchednes/ shall suffer
 þe hedde of all heretyques Antichrist (of
 whome these folke be þe foꝝ walkers) to
 come i to this wꝛched world/ & therein

to woꝛke such wonders/ that þe wyte
 therof shall be able to put right wyse in
 & good men in great dowre of þe court/
 sayng false Antichrist pꝛeuing his pꝛe
 chynge by myꝛacles/ where as i owe
 neyther good mā noꝝ wyse mā cā haue
 eny colour of excuse/ if me were so mad
 to beleue these mad maysters of whom
 they se þe pꝛincipall arte heretiques and
 fyrst authours of þe secte/ neyther shew
 myꝛacle foꝝ þe pꝛofe of theyꝝ doctryne/ &
 yet theyꝝ techynge & theyꝝ lpyng all set
 bypō synne & bestely concupyscence/ & so
 cleue contrary to þe doctryne of all þe olde
 holy doctours/ foꝝ whō god hath and
 doth shewe so many myꝛacles in hys
 chyrche/ which as I said shall not fayl to
 be conserued & hys right sayth therein to
 be pꝛeserued/ in despite of all þe heretykes
 þe euer shall spyng Antichrist & all/ &
 in spꝛyght of þe deuyl þe great mayster
 of them all/ whom chryst shall at þe last
 restrayne & destroye his Idoll Antichrist
 wꝛ þe spꝛyte of hys holy mouth/ reparyng
 & dylapnyng hys chyrche agayne/ & ga
 theryng therein as well the remaīnt
 of þe Jewys/ as all other sectys abrode
 about þe world/ shall make all folke one
 flocke vnder hym selfe þe shepheard/ &
 shall deliuer a glayous kyngdome to
 hys father of all þe faued peple fro oure
 forwarde father Adam to þe laste day/ fro
 then forth to reygne in heuen in tope &
 bleste unspoytable one euerlastyng day
 wꝛ his father hi selfe & the holy goost/
 whych sende these sedycyous sectis the
 grace to ceace/ & þe fauours of those sac
 cyōs to amend/ & vs þe grace þe stopping
 oure eyes fro þe false enchaīntmentys of
 all these heretykes/ we may by þe very
 sayth of chrystys catholyke chyrche to
 walke wꝛth charyte in þe way of good
 workys in this wꝛched world/ & we

may be partyners of þe hvenly blesse/
wherch the blood of goddys own sonne
hath bought vs vnto. And this prayer
of I seruyng vs for grace/let vs now

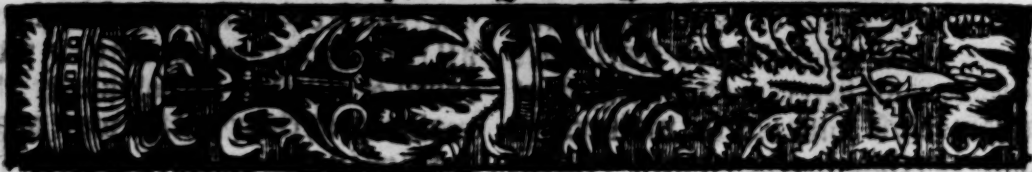
set downe to diner. as hiche we dyd.
And after dyner departed he home
toward you and I to the court.

C Finis.



Printed at London at the
signe of the meremayd at Dow
llys gate next to chepe syde in the
moneth of June the yere of our
lord. M. v. C. xix.

C Cum privilegio Regali.



The fawtyes escaped in the pryntyng.

Fol.	Col.	Line.	At the fawtyes.	At the ambedemstys.	Fol.	Col.	Line.	At the fawtyes.	At the ambedemstys.
i.	i.	ix.	ouy	oups	xix.	iii.	xix.	well abyden ye	At the ambedemstys
i.	ii.	xix.	better betware	better to betware	xix.	iii.	xix.	boby	well haue abyden is
i.	iii.	xix.	lowyng	lowyng	xix.	ii.	ii.	bypose/so in thyn	boby
ii.	ii.	xix.	nathyns fawt woz	northing blame woz	xix.	ii.	xix.	gys	bypose/as it may
ii.	iii.	xix.	thy/only to enfase	thy/only to defase	xix.	ii.	xix.	beluyd	be also in thynys
ii.	iii.	xix.	chaf	enfame that	xix.	ii.	xix.	taught in	beleuyd
ii.	iii.	xix.	spake of.	spake of.	xix.	ii.	xix.	grace moze wete ye	taught ye in
ii.	iii.	xix.	where	where	xix.	ii.	xix.	one	grace/moze wete ye
ii.	iii.	xix.	and emy of thes	and emy of thes	xix.	ii.	xix.	hole	owne
ii.	iii.	xix.	werth them	werth them	xix.	ii.	xix.	wold	boly
ii.	iii.	xix.	place bo:nden to	place bo:nden to	xix.	ii.	xix.	wyth hym	shold
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	holibly	wyth you
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	to beleue	holibly
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	semerth	to be beleuyd
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	boly	semyd
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	aboue	hole
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	boly	alone
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	myll	hole
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	ye any	well
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	god god	ye in any
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	geder	god
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	be hach	gader
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	ye wold	I haue
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	hole	ye shall
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	your	boly
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	the	you
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	about	they
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	knowen that	thorow out
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	god	knowe to god that
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	god
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	knoweth
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	at had
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	monem
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	thych the garys
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	argumens
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	haue
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	by the hole
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	to hym and
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	and plente
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	walke
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	and pay any
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	fratelesse
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	they canonysed
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	that
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	ye wold
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	lost
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	mothers
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	nother as they do
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	uocyon ledyng the
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	as the place lych
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	for them/ye
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	me
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	not
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	ampse
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	seue ye often
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	wasde
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	fast/we shall
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	our
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	let them do
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	by whych
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	therof
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	good
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	fulmed the
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	abstraycon
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	paye
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	say
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	of a lyrell
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	were false
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	comenly
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	by the sayngs
ii.	iii.	xix.	wyth whych	wyth whych	xix.	ii.	xix.	know	moze

The sawtys escaped in the ppyntynge.

Fol.	Col.	Linca.	The sawtys.	The amercenys.	Fol.	Col.	Linca.	The sawtys.	The amercenys.
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	bis it	b'e to do ye	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	an	as
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	not onely.	but onely	C. ix.	ii.	lxviii.	hospell	gospell
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	complaynmentis	complaynmentis	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	and ye	and that ye
lxviii.	i.	lxviii.	hym to	hym to	C. ix.	ii.	lxviii.	do ye myrthont	do ye not myrthont
lxviii.	i.	lxviii.	party were	party / there were	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	Salatides	Coeyn hyang
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	Better	And better	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	that that	thm thac
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	were in	were myrthont	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	was parre	were no parre
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	make the nuber of the lese.	make the nuber of the lese.	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	wasdys whpeth	wasdys in whpeth
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	code	code	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	ye master	ye not master
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	my han	my han	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	menstruase	menstruase
lxviii.	i.	lxviii.	in effect of thys	in effect of thys	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	lyn	lyn
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	hym with suffragis	hym with suffragis	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	. So	. And that
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	ce some	ce of some	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	thac aod	thac onely ge
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	man was	maner of abstracis	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	ye no such	ye lude
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.		was	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	be set	he had set
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.		could hane	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	fe	felow: s
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.		synall	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	lecte	fer
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	goue nought	goue hym nought	C. ix.	i.	lxviii.	is	was
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	that	that	C. ix.	ii.	lxviii.	no synne. But	no synne i the / bus
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	that they	that they	C. ix.	ii.	lxviii.	soye whom	soye onely whom
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	party. wherof	party. / for wherof	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	thermyre	thermyre
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	callyth al lone lone	callyth alway lone	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	grace the	grace and the
lxviii.	i.	lxviii.	but a	but a	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	set	ther
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	ye	ye	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	he	hys
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	ye sale	ye the sale	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	they be	they then be
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	wold	wold	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	redde	redde
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	I suppose ye the	I suppose ye the	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	he	hath
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	rede the number of the lese.	rede the number of the lese.	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	these	these
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	and of	and nor of	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	syche	syche
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	nen	nen	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	neither albeys	neither. For albeys
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	rede the number of the lese.	rede the number of the lese.	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	folke dysuen	folke had nor dysuen
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	thys	thys	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	foye as	foye punyshed as
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	bund	bonde	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	wyle luf	wyle to be luf
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	not pfect	not a pfect	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	in wile	in to make
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	one	eny	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	hyllerd	hyllerd
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	hyllerd	hyllerd	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	semed	semed
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	fore	fore	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	hold	hold
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	And	And	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	spake	spake
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	help me god	help me god	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	berely that foy	berely foy
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	can no	can I no	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	of them / may perad	of them / may perad
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	the	the	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	uence lye lude	uence lye lude
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	in	in	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	the better foy. the	the better foy. the
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	benethe that	benethe spynnyed	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	of yf	of yf
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	that	that	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	wold lene	wold neuer lene
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	one	one	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	as well as they	as they wold be to
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	they	they	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	wold by	by
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	rede the number of the lese.	rede the number of the lese.	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	thynge	thynge
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	thys	thys	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	hym than	hym. But than
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	fab	fabnes	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	ye he be	ye ye be
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	whych	whych shall	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	thou belenyth	thou belene
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	wherwryth	wherwryth	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	But now	But neuer
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	ye	ye	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	thm	thm
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	was cōfēt not that	was not cōfēt that	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	quye	quye
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	oppyon	oppyon	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	laryfied	laryfied
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	sayd	sayd	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	encrem	encrem
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	more	more	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	sempng	sempng
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	and that Luther	and Luther	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	bere / whych	bere ye / whych
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	hene	hene	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	oy	oy
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	Roarne	Roarne	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	polarps chypys	polarps of Cryg
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	Jehermery	Jehermery	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	doctours thymeth	doctours / and the
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.			C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	myth	myth
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	by played unto as	by played unto as	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	parre as romchpnyng	as romchpnyng
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	our lady	our lady	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.	bothe / And	bothe in Almayn /
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	Now	Now	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		And
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	of to make	of to make	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	synnyshd	synnyshd	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	he	he	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	not	not	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	no	no	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	no	no	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		
lxviii.	iii.	lxviii.	whyle	whyle	C. ix.	iii.	lxviii.		

Edward the fourth. Henry the sixth

Edw. H.

